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THE PENTATEUCH.

AND BOOK OF JOSHUA

CRITICALLY EXAMINED

BY THE RIGHT REV.

JOHN WILLIAM COLENZO, D.D.

BISHOP OF NATAL.

'We can do nothing against the Truth, but for the Truth.'—*St. Paul*, 2 Cor. xiii. 6.

'Not to exceed, and not to fall short of, facts,—not to add, and not to take away,—to state the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth,—are the grand, the vital, maxims of Inductive Science, of English Law, and, let us add, of Christian Faith.'—*Quarterly Review* on 'Essays and Reviews,' Oct. 1861, p. 369.

PART. II.

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PREFACE.

It will be seen that, in this Second Part of my work, the argument to prove the non-Mosaic and unhistorical character of the Pentateuch is removed altogether from the ground on which the question was discussed in Part I, and is treated upon other, chiefly philological, grounds. My former book has had, I believe, the effect which I desired, having met with such a reception, generally, at the hands of English readers, as satisfies me that there will now exist a very general feeling among them, that there is certainly *something* in the story of the Exodus *which needs to be explained*, and assures me that the requisite attention will be given to the further examination of this important subject. It was my earnest desire and hope to secure such attention from the more thoughtful and intelligent of the Laity, without whose aid nothing, I knew, could be done to deliver the Church of England from the restraints of those time-honoured traditions, which have hitherto checked freedom of thought and speech among her members, and sealed, to a very great extent, the mouths of her doctors and clergy. But, in order to do this, it was absolutely necessary to awaken their interest in the question to be discussed, by treating it, in the first instance, in the most plain and popular manner, and using chiefly such reasoning as would require in the

reader no extensive scholarship, no knowledge of the Hebrew tongue or acquaintance with the higher departments of Biblical criticism,—nothing but an honest, English, practical common-sense, with a determination to *know*, if possible, the real truth upon the points at issue, where the argument turns upon matters of every-day life, lying completely within his cognisance, and, when known, to *embrace* and *avow* it.

I must now take a step forward with those, who are resolved to investigate thoroughly the question which has been raised, as to the real origin, age, and authorship of the different portions of the Pentateuch. I shall still, however, bear constantly in mind that my book, to produce the effect which I desire, must be brought within the grasp of an intelligent layman, though unskilled in Hebrew learning. The difficulty, no doubt, is great, which must be here encountered, if it is to satisfy at once the demands of the scholar and the requirements of the unlearned. But the vital importance of the subject under consideration is such as to leave me no alternative but to make this attempt; and I can have no excuse for sparing any labour, which may help to simplify, as far as possible, the unavoidable difficulties of the case. This will account for the endeavour, which I have made throughout, to make each step of the reasoning plain to the apprehension of the general reader, though a critical scholar may, perhaps, complain that time and space are occupied in clearing ground, which has been cleared for him long ago, and in fortifying a position which, he may think, needs no defence. I have gone upon the principle of *taking nothing for granted*,—of assuming that my reader will desire to see for himself every step of the argument, and to have each point cleared up completely as he goes. Where, therefore, it has been necessary to appeal to some knowledge of the Hebrew language, I have

sought by means of a translation, or in some other way, to supply the information needed to produce conviction in the mind of the unlearned,—sufficiently strong, at all events, to enable him to go on confidently with the train of reasoning, which is followed throughout this Second Part, if less certain than that which would arise from actual acquaintance with the original tongue.

A few words may here be said in reply to my Reviewers. I desire to acknowledge thankfully the hearty welcome and encouragement, which my book has met with from many influential quarters. And I am too well aware of the pain, which its publication must have caused to many excellent persons, to be surprised at receiving some hard words from others. I am sure, however, that the truth will prevail at last, and I shall abide patiently and hopefully the issue of the contest.

Some of my critics have complained that I have set forth *nothing new* in the First Part,—that the objections, which I have stated, had all been heard and answered before. I made, however, no pretence of bringing forward novelties. The very point, indeed, of my argument in Part I was this,—that these difficulties were *not new*, though many of them were new to me, when I first began to engage in these investigations, as, I believe, notwithstanding the assertions of not a few of my critics, they were new to very many of my readers, lay and clerical, when first laid before them. But I expressly said that these contradictions, generally, *had* been noticed by others, and *must* be noticed by everyone who would carefully study the Pentateuch, comparing one statement with another. I said, also, that they have never been satisfactorily explained; and I say so still. Having carefully considered the various replies

which have hitherto been made to my book, I find no occasion to modify its conclusions, though I have gladly availed myself of suggestions, whether from friends or opponents, which have led me to make a few unimportant changes in the First Part, as indicated in the Table annexed.

But the line of argument pursued in the present portion is that, probably, which with many minds will produce a more decided effect. It will be seen that all the elaborate attempts, which have been made to ‘explain away’ difficulties and ‘reconcile’ contradictions, are but as breath spent in vain, when the *composite* character of the story of the Exodus is once distinctly recognised, and the Pentateuch falls to pieces, as it were, in the reader’s hands, the different ages of the different writers being established beyond a doubt, and clearly exhibited. It was, perhaps, my knowledge of the overwhelming amount and weight of this evidence, and of much more of the same kind to be produced hereafter, which led me to express myself in the First Part with an assured confidence in the certainty of my conclusions, which some of my reviewers have condemned, as scarcely warranted, in their opinion, by the premisses, even if they were admitted to be true. A great part of this Second Part is liable to the same imputation as the first,—of containing no facts which are novelties to those who have already made acquaintance with the subject. But there are portions of the argument, as here stated, especially those in Chap. XII–XVIII (and I would wish to call the reader’s attention particularly to Chap. XV, XVI), which, as far as I am aware, are now for the first time submitted to the judgment of the learned. I am sure that no one will blame the fullness of detail in this part of my book, who realises the importance of this particular point of the enquiry,—who sees that the question, as to the time when the Name Jehovah first came into use among the Hebrews, is really

the *pivot*, as it were, upon which the whole argument turns; since the revelation of that name to Moses is the very core and centre of the story of the Exodus; and, if it appears, as, I believe, it will, on sufficient grounds, that the Name really did not originate in so early an age, it would follow that one of the most vital portions of the narrative is shown to be unhistorical. This will explain why I have discussed so minutely and carefully all that appears to bear on this part of the subject, with an anxious desire to ascertain the real truth with reference to so important a fact.

Others, again, have said that such a work as mine was unnecessary, because in these days the notion of literal inspiration is generally abandoned. 'It is but fighting, therefore, with a shadow, to attack the doctrine of Scripture infallibility, which is a thing of the past, and has either already died away, or is fast dying away, under the influence of modern science, and amidst the growing intelligence of the age.' But is this statement true? I quoted in the Introduction to Part I, words addressed to the junior members of the University of Oxford by one of their select preachers, the well-known author of a much-commended 'Plain Commentary on the Gospels,'—a book written, of course, in the same spirit as the sermons in question. Could any language have set forth more explicitly the duty of regarding the Bible, as in its every 'sentence, word, syllable, letter—where shall we stop?'—infallible and Divine? But many of that writer's best friends, it is said, regret the delivery and publication of those sermons. 'It is not to be supposed that such views are at all widely entertained within the Church in the present day.' What, then, shall be said of the following extracts, taken from writings of very different schools, which have been lately published with express reference to my book?

The *English Churchman*, Dec. 4, 1862, speaks as follows :—

• How, it may be asked, are we to deal with those clergymen, who have doubts, yet have not yet come to *conclusions*? Are they to leave the Church? We say emphatically they ought, if they entertain any *doubt* as to that fundamental requisite for all who present themselves for Ordination,—that is, *the thorough persuasion that the Scriptures cannot in any particular be untrue.*

So, again, the Rev. E. GARBETT, M.A., ‘Select Preacher and Boyle Lecturer,’ in a sermon also preached before the University of Oxford, Nov. 16, 1862, writes as follows :—

But this notion of an infallible Bible, and of the historical truth of its contents, is no more, it is replied, than the mistake of a popular religion, of which the severer criticism and more accurate habits of modern thought have undermined the very foundations. . . . *It is the clear teaching of those doctrinal formularies, to which we of the Church of England have expressed our solemn assent, and no honest interpretation of her language can get rid of it.* p.9.

If the belief in the infallibility of the Scripture be a falsehood, the Church founded upon it must be a living fraud; . . . in all consistent reason, *we must accept the whole of the inspired autographs or reject the whole, as from end to end unauthoritative and worthless.* p.10.

It would be easy to multiply quotations of a similar kind from other living authors of eminence, or from journals which express different shades of Church feeling. But one more set of extracts may suffice to show the extent, to which the doctrine of Scripture infallibility is at this very time actively propagated within the Church of England. It is well known that the Bishop of WINCHESTER has lately set forth a very ominous statement, showing the gradual diminution which is taking place in the number of University graduates,—(and these not men who have taken *honours*, but men who, for the most part, have merely *passed* for their degree,)—who offer themselves as candidates for Holy Orders, and the proportional increase in the number of non-University men, classed together under the head of ‘*Literates*.’ The table of candidates, throughout the several

dioceses of England, is given on Bishop SUMNER's authority for three years, respectively, as follows : —

	Oxford	Cambridge	Durham	Dublin	Lit.	Total
In 1841 . . .	242	270	13	33	38	596
In 1851 . . .	215	222	23	41	113	614
In 1861 . . .	159	219	21	30	241	670

It will be seen from the above that in 1861 considerably more than *one-third* of the whole body of candidates for Holy Orders were 'Literates.' What kind of training, then, have these received? Doubtless, it has varied under different circumstances. But the following will show what it has been in *St. Aidan's College, Birkenhead*, one of the most successful — and, for the zeal and energy of its Principal, Dr. BAYLEE, deservedly successful — of all the institutions which at present exist, for raising an inferior class of Clergy to fill the vacant pulpits of the land. In fact, as the Bishop of WINCHESTER states, *Charge*, 1862, p. 23 —

The single college of St. Aidan now contributes *the twentieth part of the candidates for the whole English Church Ministry.*

The number of 'ordained students' in February, 1862, is given in an official document now before me, as 242, [in July, 1862, increased to 288, *Charge*, as before,] viz : —

Rectors	18
Vicars	9
Incumbents of District Churches	50
Chaplains and Secretaries	22
Ministers of New Districts and <i>Missionaries</i>	6
Principal of School	1
Curates	136

242

It will be observed that very few indeed of the above have gone out as *Missionaries*. *Fifteen* are mentioned as ministering in colonial dioceses, *three* in dioceses 'not known : ' of the

remainder, *five* are labouring in Irish dioceses, and the remaining *two hundred and nineteen* have found employment in the Church, in the dioceses of England and Wales.

The kind of teaching, with which the above Clergy were imbued while under training at St. Aidan's, may be gathered from the following passages, extracted from a Manual—'BAYLEE'S Verbal Inspiration'—which, says the Preface, is 'part of an intended course of lectures on Scripture, Philosophy, and Exegesis, chiefly for the use of the students of St. Aidan's College.'

The whole Bible, as a revelation, is a declaration of the Mind of God towards His creatures, *on all the subjects of which the Bible treats.* p.6.

What I believe to be the truth is this, The Bible is God's Word, in the same sense as if He had made use of no human agent, but had Himself spoken it, as we know He did the Decalogue. p.33.

• Modern Science, with all its wonderful advances, has discovered not one single inaccurate allusion to physical truth, in all the countless illustrations employed in the Bible. p.42.

The Bible cannot be less than verbally inspired. *Every word, every syllable, every letter, is just what it would be, had God spoken from heaven without any human intervention.* p.48.

• *Every scientific statement is infallibly accurate, all its history and narrations of every kind are without any inaccuracy. The words and phrases have a grammatical and philological accuracy, such as is possessed by no human composition.* p.62.

After considering the above facts, will anyone say that there is no cause for an united effort to be made by all lovers of truth to break off from the neck of the Church of England the chains of such slavish subjection to the mere letter of the Scripture as this?

It has been the practice with not a few of my Reviewers to quote some one or other of my arguments *partially*, so as to omit altogether to mention the real *point* of the reasoning, and then to demolish it in its mutilated state, and so lead the reader

to suppose that it has been set aside altogether. Thus it has been argued, again and again, 'Why can we not suppose that when it is said, *'the Congregation* was assembled at the door of the Tabernacle,' it is merely meant to say in common popular language that a *great number* was present?' Of course, this might be supposed under *ordinary* circumstances. The point of my argument, which my opponents do not notice, is this, that it is expressly stated in L.viii.1 that *Jehovah Himself* summoned the Congregation together, and that it is impossible to believe that Almighty God did really issue a command, which was not meant to be strictly obeyed,—by all, at least, who were able to attend the summons.

Again, great stress has been laid by some upon a trivial point, of no real consequence at all to my argument, viz. that it is possible that in L.iv.11 the Priest may be supposed to 'carry out' the remains of the victim — a young calf — by the help of others, instead of doing it personally. The fact is, as an able writer (though to me unknown) in the 'National Review' has shown, that the version of the English Bible, which I have adopted, is the most obvious and natural one, justified not only by a multitude of similar instances — as Ez.xii.6, 'In their sight shalt thou *bear it upon thy shoulders*, and *carry it forth*' — but especially by the kindred passage, L.vi.11, where the direction is given to the Priest, 'And he shall put off his garments, and put on other garments, and carry forth the ashes without the camp, unto a clean place.' If the Priest was in person to carry out the ashes, there is nothing very strange in supposing that he was meant to carry out the offal also. But I am quite ready to admit that the Hebrew word here employed *may* be used in the sense of carrying out with the help of others — as in L.xiv.45, 'And he (the Priest) shall carry forth (the

stones, timber, mortar, of a house stricken with leprosy) out of the city unto an unclean place'—and, therefore, I have modified the expression which I used with reference to this point in Part I. But the stress of my argument is not laid upon the necessity of the Priest himself in person doing this, but upon the fact that it *had to be done by somebody*,—that all the ashes, offal, and filth of every kind, for a vast city as large as LONDON, without any kind of sewage arrangements, had to be carried out daily through the crowded streets, a distance of six miles.

So again, several of my Reviewers have charged me with negligence, at least, in not observing that many of the laws in the Pentateuch were never meant to be carried out in the wilderness. And this is the way in which the difficulty about 'pigeons or turtle-doves' is usually disposed of. Here also it is *not* generally noticed that I have distinctly drawn attention to the fact that in Lxiv.22 'two turtle-doves or two young pigeons' are expressly ordered, as the story states, by *Jehovah Himself*, as an easy offering for a *poor* man to bring, with express reference in v.3,8, to their life in the wilderness.

The greater number of my opponents have had recourse to some vague suggestion about the inaccuracy of Hebrew numerals. But the intelligent reader of such Reviews will perceive that the writers never go minutely into the question, so as to consider carefully, (1) *what* numbers are to be corrected, (2) what alteration must be made in them, (3) how the change of these will affect other numbers of equal importance, (4) whether the main difficulties of the story will really be got rid of by any such reduction. But, in truth, the notion of any mere inaccuracy existing in the main numbers of

the narrative is simply a delusion. Whatever may be the case in other parts of the Bible, the numbers are *not* inaccurate here. They are carefully checked and counterchecked in so many ways, as I have shown in Chap. I of this Part, that it is impossible to dispense with the 600,000 fighting men, and retain, as *historically true, the main facts of the story of the Exodus*. It is, of course, possible and, in our view, in the highest degree probable, that a veritable movement of a considerable body of Hebrews out of Egypt, in some previous age, of which the legendary recollections were still retained among them, may have lain at the basis of the narrative. But then no reliance whatever can be placed on any of the *details* of the story. It will be found that they are inextricably bound up with the numbers.

Very grave censure has been passed by some upon the language which I have used, with reference to the manner in which the 'books of Moses' are referred to in the New Testament. On this point I shall say no more at present than that I believe that, in presence of the plain facts of the case, I have supported the orthodox faith by those suggestions, which I have made in the Preface to Part I, in the *only* way in which it *can* be supported, as far as this particular question is concerned. And I shall content myself with quoting the following words of Dr. DAVIDSON, which are the more to my purpose, as he adduces also the opinions of the late Dr. HER, Norrisian Professor of Divinity for many years in the University of Cambridge, whose work was the *text-book* set before me, as one of the subjects of examination, by the late Bishop of Ely, who ordained me Deacon and Priest, and remains still, I presume, a standard work for Divinity students, as it was very recently sent out to me in Natal,

as one among a grant of books, made to my Diocesan Library by the University at my request.

Christ and his apostles did not come into the world to instruct the Jews in criticism. . . . In some things both adopted a wise accommodation to popular views. When confuting the Jews, they generally reasoned with them *on their own principles*. Employing the *argumentum ad hominem*, they simply accepted the acknowledged sentiments of the people, without vouching for their truth. Let it be carefully observed that they did not urge that as *truth*, which they thought to be *falsehood*. To impute such a thing to the Saviour is impious. It is scarcely less so to ascribe it to the apostles and evangelists. . . . Dr. HEY says, *Lectures on Divinity*, i.p.189, 'We have now reason to think that no text, or scarcely any, was ever cited or alluded to by our Saviour, but according to the notions of the *Jews then present*. . . . Now, if it is the duty of those, who teach religion, to 'become all things to all men, that they may by all means save some,' how could anyone better become *a Jew to the Jews* than by entering into their favourite mode of persuasion? It gave no *authority* to any sense of a passage in Scripture, because it was not understood to do so; it implied no error, no falsehood; and it made the affinity between the two dispensations, the harmony of the 'divine counsels, to be more strongly perceived.' Agreeing as we do with this theologian in the sentiment, that our Saviour and his apostles accommodated their mode of reasoning to the habitual notions of the Jews, no authority can be attributed to that reasoning, *except where it takes the form of an independent declaration or statement*, and so rests on the speaker's credit. It should also be observed that historical and critical questions could only belong to the sphere of his *human* culture — a culture stamped with the characteristics of his age and country. The development of Jesus is distinctly recognised in the New Testament, and is not incompatible with his Divine nature, Lu.ii.52. Considering, therefore, the human limitations, to which the Son of God was subjected on earth, we are not irreverent in supposing that he shared the common views of the Jews in his day in regard to points ethically or doctrinally unimportant. DAVINSON'S *Int. to the O. T.* i.p.126.

I am, of course, very well aware that serious questions are raised, with respect to the popular views of Christianity, by the consideration of some of the facts, which are here, as I believe, *proved* in reference to the Pentateuch; and many of my Reviewers, as well as some private correspondents, have urged upon me the desirableness of stating at once in what way the usual elements of Christian doctrine appear to be affected by

the unhistorical character of the Pentateuch. But, however I may wish to satisfy this very natural impatience, it is impossible to do so, till we know what is the residuum of real fact which is left behind, when the Pentateuch is thoroughly examined. This only I repeat once more,—the recognition of the gradual growth of Jesus, as the Son of Man, in human knowledge and science of all kinds, such as that which concerns the question of the age and authorship of the Pentateuch, is perfectly compatible with—rather, is absolutely required by—the most orthodox faith in His Divinity, as the Eternal Son of God. And I believe that this view of the case is far more *reverent* and *becoming* than that which Dr. HENRICKS seems most to favour, and which is so very commonly adopted, viz. that, *knowing* how the case really stood, He yet adopted the popular language of the day, and so left His countrymen and disciples in total ignorance of the facts of history and criticism, of which He Himself was fully cognisant, and by His silence, at all events — or even by direct statements — confirmed their mistaken notions on so important a question.

But leaving these Replies and Reviews, most of which are by anonymous authors, I am naturally most anxious to see what the Bishops and Doctors of the Church of England will say upon the subject of my book, and how they will act in the present emergency. At the time when I write, only one of the English Bench of Bishops, the Bishop of ROCHESTER, has, as far as I am aware, expressed himself at any length with reference to the present question. And he has stated, in his published letter to the clergy of his Diocese, that he is ‘no Hebrew or German scholar,’ and, therefore, being necessarily ignorant, at present, of the real facts of the case, he can scarcely be regarded as a fair and competent judge in the matter. In the present Part,

however, I hope that I have put the main points of the argument within the grasp of any one, whether clerk or layman, though unacquainted with Hebrew or German, if only he will give the needful attention, free from prejudice, to the consideration of the points at issue.

The Bishop of LONDON in his recent Charge,—admirable as it is in respect of the liberal and charitable spirit which it breathes throughout,—while saying that —

it would never do to lay down that a clergyman is bound not to inquire,—

and that —

we cannot for a moment admit any theory, which, teaching that as clergymen they were bound to an unquestioning adherence to the Church's standards, removes the Clergy out of the category of inquiring honest men, thus robbing the Church of all that weight of testimony in favour of its doctrines, which is derived from the heartfelt free adherence of so many of the most intelligent and best men of each generation, who have found their highest happiness as its ministers, —

and while further saying that —

a Clergyman *cannot* altogether avoid such questions — he is called every day, in his common occupations, to announce that he has an opinion on one side or the other of, at least, some of them — he cannot, therefore, shut his eyes to them, —

yet adds that —

if such inquiry leads to *doubt*,—and if the doubt ends in disbelief of the Church's doctrines,—of course he will resign his office as one of the Church's authorised teachers.

Now let us consider what this leads to. Let us suppose a clergyman to begin to 'inquire,' having a difficulty about the Deluge put before him by some intelligent layman of his flock. If he does this, he will assuredly soon learn that the results of *geological* science absolutely forbid the possibility of our believing in an *Universal* Deluge, such as the Bible manifestly speaks of. He will find also that *mathematical* and *physical* science, as well as the plain texts of Scripture, equally forbid

our believing in a *partial* Deluge, such as some have supposed, since that involves an Universal Flood. Rather, without any appeal to science at all, if only he allows himself to ‘think’ upon the subject, and to realise to his own mind the necessary conditions of the supposed event, he will need only a common practical judgment to convince him that the story, which is told in the book of Genesis, is utterly incredible,—which involves the necessity of Noah taking in a supply of animals, or of animal food, for the special use of the carnivorous beasts and birds, and of Noah and his family taking round two or three times a day food and water to such a multitude of animals, supplying them daily with fresh litter (how stored and kept?) and removing the old—with other considerations of the same practical kind, as *e.g.* that the supply of *light* and *air* for the whole community in the ‘lower, second, and third stories,’ G.vi.16, was to be furnished by *one* very small window — ‘and a window shalt thou make to the Ark, in a cubit (22 *inches*) shalt thou finish it above’—which window, however, seems never to have been opened till the end of the Deluge, G.viii.6, (if, indeed, it *could* have been opened during the fall of rain,) in which case, as they had no glass in those days, the inmates of the Ark could have had neither light nor air. One of my Reviewers, indeed, in the *Ecclesiastic* for January, 1863, p.49, has thrown out a suggestion to meet such difficulties :

It would certainly be a very unlikely thing that Noah and his family should have been turned into mere ‘keepers’ of wild beasts. A miraculous element must be supposed in order to preserve peace amongst this motley crowd of animals. And what difficulty can there be in accepting the hypothesis, which seems so likely, that these animals were further kept, during their sojourn in the Ark, *in a state of torpor?* (!)

There is a very general complaint among my Reviewers that I will not accept, and be content with, such very rational ex-

planations of Scripture difficulties, as the above. But the Bible says, G.vi.21, 'Take thou unto thee of all food that is eaten, and thou shalt gather it to thee; and it shall be for food for thee and for them.'

The following is Dr. LIGHTFOOT's account of the Ark (*Harmony, Chronicle, and Order of the O.T.* vii.p.8,9), which sets forth more plainly than any words of mine, the impossibilities involved in the story in Genesis:

The dimensions of the Arke were such, as that it had contained 450,000 square cubits within the walls of it, if it had risen in an exact square unto the top; but, it sloping in the rooffe, like the rooffe of an house, till it came to be but a cubit broad in the ridge of it, did abate some good parcell of that summe, but how much is uncertain; should we allow 50,000 cubits in the abatement, yet will the space be sufficient enough of capacity, to receive all the creatures, and all their provisions that were laid in there. The building was three stories high, but of the staires, that rose from story to story, the Text is silent. In every story were partitions, not so many as to seclude one kind of creature from another, for that was needlesse, there being no enmity between them while they were there, and it would have been more troublesome to Noah to bring their provisions to them; but there were such partitions, as to divide betwixt beasts and their provisions in store, betwixt provisions and provisions, that by lying neer together might receive damage. The doore was in the side of the lowest story, and so it was under water all the time of the flood; but God by so special a providence had shut them in, that it leaked not. In what story every kinde of creature had its lodging and habitation is a matter undeterminable. How their excrements were conveyed out of the Ark, and water conveyed in, the Text hath concealed. All the creatures were so cieurated and of a tamed condition for this time, that they lived together and dieted together without dissention; 'the wolf dwelte with the lamb, and the leopard lay down with the kid, and the calf and the young lion together:' and Noah or any of his family might come among lions, dragons, serpents, and they had forgot the wildness and cruelty of their nature, and did not meddle with him.

On all the above grounds, then, and for many other similar reasons, which the least acquaintance with scientific facts, or common-sense itself, will soon suggest to him, if he once begins to 'inquire,' it is extremely probable that any such clergyman must needs come very soon to *doubt*, and before long to

disbelieve, the truth of the Scripture account of the Deluge. Rather, let me ask, does any intelligent clergyman at this day — anyone who has allowed himself to ‘think’ upon the subject, as he would think about any other recorded fact of ancient history — really believe in that story? Do the Bishops and Doctors of the English Church believe in it? If they do not, then do not these Divines, one and all, ‘disbelieve the Church’s doctrine’ on this particular point, whilst yet, in common with all their fellow-clergy, they use habitually that solemn form of address to Almighty God in the Baptismal Service, which expressly assumes the reality and historical truthfulness of the story of the Noachian Deluge — ‘Almighty and everlasting God, who of thy great mercy didst save Noah and his family in the Ark from perishing by water’? It is of no avail to say, ‘There was a Deluge of *some kind or other*, and this is only a legendary reminiscence of it.’ The Church Prayer-Book does not mean this. When those formularies were laid down, and the Clergy were bound by a solemn subscription to declare their ‘unfeigned assent and consent to all things written in the Book of Common Prayer,’ it was assuredly meant to bind them to express an unfeigned belief in the story of the Deluge, *as it is told in these chapters of Genesis*, and not to some imaginary Flood of any kind, which anyone may choose at his pleasure to substitute for it; otherwise, it would be very easy to explain away in like manner every single statement of the Scriptures, Old and New, which we cannot believe. But the fact is that, by the present law of subscription, each clergyman is bound by law to believe in the historical truth of Noah’s Flood, as recorded in the Bible, which the Church believed in some centuries ago, before God had given us the light of modern science: and he will be so bound, till the Legislature of the

realm shall relax the painful obligation, and relieve him from the duty to which he now stands pledged, of using a form of Prayer which involves such a statement as this. Are, then, all these — Prelates, as well as ordinary Clergy — to resign at once their sacred offices, because they disbelieve the Church's doctrine on this point?

But what are they to do under these circumstances — those, I mean, who have their eyes open to the real facts of the case, and who cannot bear to utter what they know to be untrue in the face of God and the Congregation? Many, probably, will get rid of the difficulty, with satisfaction to their own minds in some way, by falling back upon the notion above referred to, that the account in Genesis is a legendary narrative, however incorrect and unhistorical, of some real matter of fact in ancient days. Others — though I imagine not many — will justify themselves in still using such a form of Prayer, though they know it to be unreal and unmeaning, by considering that they are acting in a merely *official* capacity, as ministers of the National Church, and administrators of the laws which the main body of the Church has approved, and has not yet rescinded.

But what shall be said to those, who cannot conscientiously adopt either of the above methods of relieving themselves from the burden of the present difficulty, and yet feel it to be impossible to continue any longer to use such words in a solemn address to the Almighty? I see no remedy for these, but to *omit such words* — to disobey the law of the Church on this point, and take the consequences of the act — should any over-zealous brother-clerk or layman drag them before a Court, and enforce a penalty, in the face of an indignant nation. It is true that a soldier is bound, as a general rule, to obey his commanding officer, and a

servant his master. But there are times when a faithful servant is bound, as he loves his master and cherishes his best interests, to *disobey* his orders. A master may, in ignorance of the real circumstances of the case, or, perhaps, from want of forethought, or from the mere infirmity of age, issue an unwise or injurious command—one that, if carried out, would in the end be ruinous, and even fatal, to his own safety. He may have issued it long ago, under a totally different state of things, for which he had then most wisely provided. But now, under changed circumstances, such an order may be most ill-judged, and the attempt to enforce it, irrational and suicidal. In such a case the most true and trusty servant would deem it right to disobey—would be bound to disobey—though the consequences of the act might bring ruin on himself, should his master, in his blindness or obstinacy, not appreciate his motives. On the other hand, it may be that the master in such a case, however angry and even violent at first, when he sees only the outward act of disobedience, and does not yet recognise the spirit of true faithfulness which prompted it, and the real danger from which he has been saved by it, will at length awake from his delusion, and gratefully acknowledge the righteousness and truth of the course of conduct which he before condemned.

Just such, I apprehend, is the state of many of us at present, with reference to our relations as Clergy to the National Church. At the time when we were admitted into her ministry, we heartily believed what we then professed to believe, and we gave our assent and consent to every part of her Liturgy. But we did not bind ourselves to believe thus always, to the end of our lives. God forbid that it should be supposed by any that the Church of England had committed so

great a sin, as to bind in this way, for all future time, the very consciences of her Clergy. But we engaged in her service, it is true, upon certain conditions, in virtue of which we are subject to her laws, and amenable to her Courts in case of disobedience. If, therefore, in obedience to a higher law than that of the National Church,—if in obedience to the law of Truth, which is the law of God,—if, in dearest love to our spiritual mother, and truest sense of duty towards her, we now feel it necessary to disobey deliberately any one of her directions,—we must be prepared, of course, for the consequences of such an act, which in her present state of ignorance as to the real facts of the case, and the perilous dangers which threaten her, she may choose to inflict upon us. In the end, we know, we shall be justified for the very acts which may now be condemned.

But will they be condemned by the great body of intelligent Laity? Is not this the way by which, in England, all laws become disused and practically abrogated, long before they are formally and legally annulled? At this moment, how many are there of the Clergy who never read the Athanasian Creed? and do their Bishops compel them to do so? Should, however, a prosecution be set on foot in such a case, and a clergyman be suspended or expelled from the Church of England, because he could not bear to approach the Holy Presence of God, by addressing Him as the Being who ‘of His great mercy did save Noah and his family in the Ark from perishing by water,’ then may we sooner attain the freedom which is needed to make the Church of England, what it professes to be, the *National Church*, and so realise the principle, which, however lost sight of and practically ignored in these days, is yet involved in the very fact that her Bishops are seated in Parliament, not surely as the heads of a

mere *sect*, but as the representatives of the whole community in its religious capacity, and, therefore, in these days, of every form of earnest religious thought within the realm.

And the circumstances of the times are such, that those, who know the facts of the case, dare not be silent any longer, while yet it is possible, by a timely recognition of the truth, and by adopting wise and liberal measures suited to the present emergency, to save the Church of England from the ruin which threatens her. It was only a *question of time* whether these results of critical inquiry should be brought to the knowledge of English Churchmen in this our own day or in the days of the next generation. There is yet a season in which we may work together, before her evils have become incurable and her downfall certain, to throw down the barriers, which at present shut out from the National Church so many men of learning, and genius, and piety, who might be numbered among her strongest friends, and to get rid of those dogmatic fetters, by which the young men of promise, at each of our Universities, refuse any longer to be bound.

It is our duty at such a time as this to speak out plainly what we know, though, in so doing, we may be, perhaps, in danger of disobeying the written law of the Church. More especially are we bound to do so, when we know that her voice has for a long time not been heard, that it cannot now be heard, that she is not allowed to speak; for no one can suppose that the present Houses of Convocation, where the Clergy are most imperfectly represented and the Laity not at all, can be regarded as in any sense expressing truly the mind of the National Church. Her hands, we know, are tied, and her whole frame cramped with antiquated formulæ of bygone days,

which she once adopted, as suited to her then state of development, but which she has now outgrown. But we know also what her voice *would* be, if she could only freely utter it this day, as she did in the days of the Reformation. We are sure that she would bid her children ‘buy the TRUTH’ at all cost, without respect to Church censures or formularies,—that, if she could only now express her mind, and the whole spirit of her teaching, her language would be in full accordance with those words of one of her most distinguished living prelates, (Archbishop WHATELY on *Bacon’s Essays*, p.10):

He who propagates a delusion, and he who connives at it when already existing, both alike tamper with truth. We must neither *lead* nor *leave* men to mistake falsehood for truth. Not to undeceive, is to deceive. The giving, or not correcting, false reasons for right conclusions, false grounds for right belief, false principles for right practice,—the holding forth, or fostering, false consolations, false encouragements, or false sanctions, or conniving at their being held forth, or believed, are all pious frauds. This springs from, and it will foster and increase, a want of veneration for Truth: it is an affront put on the ‘Spirit of Truth.’

It is true, the above passage was probably not written with the remotest idea of its being applied to the present controversy. It was written, as we may suppose, with a more direct reference to our duty, as Members and Ministers of a Protestant Church, in our relations with Romanism. But not the less truly or forcibly — because undesignedly—does it express the very spirit of Protestantism, the spirit of our National Church. In such words as these we hear the very tone in which she would speak to us now, if she could only make her voice to be heard, and would exhort her children, and enjoin her clergy, to search after and to speak the Truth, since thus only can they be true children and servants of God. And, indeed, the Bishop of LONDON, in his recent Charge, distinctly recognises free inquiry after Truth, as the very principle of our Protestant Church:

As to free inquiry, what shall we do with it? Shall we frown upon it, denounce it, try to stifle it? This will do no good, even if it be right. But after all we are, Protestants. We have been accustomed to speak a good deal of the right and duty of private judgment. It was *by the exercise of this right, and the discharge of this duty*, that our fathers freed their and our souls from Rome's time-honoured falsehoods.

If this be true, it is impossible to suppose that she would encourage and enjoin 'free inquiry' as a duty on the one hand, and, on the other, check it in the very outset by requiring that any of her Clergy, who, in these days of progress in learning and science of every kind, should arrive by means of such 'inquiry' to any conclusions different from those, which were thought right three centuries ago, must at once abdicate their sacred functions, and go out of her Ministry.

I assert, however, without fear of contradiction, that there are multitudes now of the more intelligent Clergy, who do *not* believe in the reality of the Noachian Deluge, as described in the book of Genesis. Yet did ever a layman hear his clergyman speak out distinctly what he thought, and say plainly from the pulpit what he himself believed, and what he would have them to believe, on this point? Did ever a *Doctor* or *Bishop* of the Church do this—at least, in the present day? I doubt not that some cases may be found, where such 'plainness of speech' has been exercised by the Clergy. But I appeal to the Laity, generally, with confidence. Have you ever heard your Minister—able, earnest, excellent, as you know him to be—tell out plainly to his people the truth which he knows himself about these things? Or if not to the congregation at large—for fear lest the 'ignorant and unlearned' should 'wrest it to their own destruction'—has he ever told these things to you in private, to you, men and women of education and intelligence,—

parents of families, teachers of youth,—and so helped you to lay wisely from the first, in the minds of your children and pupils, in order to meet the necessities of this age of advancing science and ‘free inquiry,’—when the Middle-Class, as well as the Civil-Service, Examinations are encouraging the study of Geology and other sciences,—the foundation of a right understanding in respect of these matters? As before, I doubt not that here also exceptions may be found to the general rule. But is not the case notoriously otherwise in the vast majority of instances? Have not your Clergy *kept back* from you their thoughts hitherto, not only about the Deluge, but about a multitude of other matters, such as those treated of in Part I of this book,—which yet, as my adverse Reviewers say almost with one voice, have been all along perfectly familiar to all respectable students of theology?

Let the Laity answer the above questions for themselves, and then ask themselves the reason of this. Is it not because the Clergy, bound by their Ordination vows and the fetters of subscription, either dare not ‘think’ at all on such subjects, or, if they do, dare not express freely their thoughts from the pulpit or by means of the press, without incurring the awful charge of ‘heresy,’ and the danger of being dragged into the Ecclesiastical Court, by some clerical brother who has himself no turn—perhaps, no faculty—for thinking, or who has else abandoned his rights and duties as a reasoning man, to become the mere exponent of a Church-system or a Creed, but who will, at least, prevent others from exercising their powers of thought in the inquiry after truth, and so disturbing the quiet repose of the Church? How, in fact, can it be expected that a clergyman should venture to ‘think’ on these subjects, when by so doing he is almost certain to come to ‘doubt’ and

‘disbelieve’ some portion, at least, as we have seen above, of the Church’s doctrines,—and then he may feel bound to follow his own sense of duty, if it accords with the sentiments expressed by the Bishop of LONDON, and abandon voluntarily the ministry of the Church, deprived of all share in its duties and emoluments, yet burdened still with the necessity, according to the present state of the law, of dragging about with him, for his whole life long, his clerical *title*, and its legal *disqualifications* for engaging in other duties of active life, for which his temper, abilities, or circumstances may fit him,—sacrificing thus the means of livelihood for himself and his family, after work, it may be, for many long years well done, and with strength still, and a hearty will, to do more in the Church’s service, if only he may be allowed to think and speak the plain honest truth as a free-man, and not be required to hush up the *facts* which he knows, and publish and maintain in place of them—by silence, at all events, if not by overt act—transparent *fictions*?

Should, however, his views of duty not compel him to make this sacrifice, still how can a clergyman be expected to indulge free thought, on some of the most interesting and important questions of physical, historical, and critical science, when he knows that, for arriving at any conclusions on certain points of Biblical criticism, which contradict the notions of our forefathers, living in days of comparative darkness and ignorance in respect of all matters of scientific research, he may be dragged into the Court of Arches, and there by legal process be forcibly ejected, or, if not ejected, at least suspended, from his living, and saddled for life with a crushing weight of debt, at the instance, it may be, of some good, easy brother, who never, perhaps, knew what it was to have a passionate yearning for the Truth as Truth, who never made a sacrifice in the

search, or for the maintenance, of it, and never, in fact, gave himself an hour's hard 'thinking' in his life? What clergyman, I repeat, with wife and children to support, can afford to give himself to the simple, straightforward, search after Truth—much less to the honest utterance of it—at the cost of 9,000*l.* ? *

* I do not believe that the Laity are aware of the cruel acts, which have been lately committed, in the name of the Church of England, with reference to clergymen who have ventured to use the faculty of thinking, or, certainly, some voice would have been raised in the British Parliament to denounce the present system of Church Law. In the case of Mr. Heath, we have a clergyman of unblemished life, of sterling piety, of studious habits,—who, when at the University, did not waste his time, as many a fellow-student, now a comfortable Rector or Vicar, did, in idleness, if not in dissipation, but read diligently, took honours, and gained a Fellowship at Trinity,—who, further, was not content with the ease and enjoyment of a College life, but, desiring a sphere of parochial labour, accepted a College living of no great value (which no *Fellow* of the College has accepted, since it became vacant by Mr. Heath's expulsion from it), and who, when settled on his living, did not abandon the habits of thought, which a life's hard labour had made a part of his nature, while others of his brother clergy were satisfied with the formulæ of past ages, and spared themselves all trouble of mind upon the great questions involved in them. And so Mr. Heath thought for himself, and spoke what he really believed to be true; and, though he himself maintains that he 'has said in his sermons things which are plainly the *direct contraries* to things of which he has been convicted,' yet, it seems, the Courts of Law have decided otherwise, and we must assume, therefore, that he has in some way contravened the written prescriptions of the Church of England. And now what is the penalty for this exercise of free thought? I am saddened and humiliated—I blush with shame for the Church of England—while I write and publish this fact to the civilised world, that in England, in this nineteenth century of boasted progress and liberty, a clergyman like this,—no brawler, swearer, drunkard, adulterer,—(if he had been, he might have been dealt with more mercifully, and been only 'suspended' for a year or two,)—but a true, good, pious, able Minister of God's word—whose deviations from the strict letter of the Church Law have had so little injurious effect upon his late Parishioners that 'they, with the exception of a very few,' as the Churchwarden informs me, 'unanimously petitioned Her Majesty not to confirm the judgment given against him,' and are now about to present him with a testimonial of 'their entire approval of his conduct since he has resided amongst them, and their sincere regret at his departure from them, and their unqualified disapprobation of the unchristian persecution, which has deprived him of the living which he has so charitably, so honourably, and so meritoriously

That the reader may feel, however, the full force of such questions as these, I will not close my Preface without calling, the attention of the more thoughtful and considerate of the Laity to another very painful and sickening fact. It is this, that there are those among the Clergy at this very time — *how many* the Searcher of hearts alone can know — who *have* allowed themselves to ‘think’ and ‘inquire,’ and who suffer already under the distressing consciousness that they have come—as of necessity they *must* have come, some time or other, if once they began this process—to doubt and to disbelieve some portions of the Church-system, *to which, as it seems to them, their subscription and solemn vows have bound them*; and who do not feel it to be a light thing, Sunday

occupied from the time of his appointment for sixteen years’—has been expelled under the present Church Law from his living, deprived of all the pecuniary results of his life’s labours, burdened with costs to the amount of 1,500*l.*, and punished with the loss of his life-income, which at his age must be valued at 7,500*l.*—so that he has incurred altogether a penalty of 9,000*l.*! Mr. WILSON and Dr. WILLIAMS, the two ‘Essayists,’ have been only *suspended* for one year from their sacred office and its emoluments. Should their appeal to the Privy Council be decided against them, their penalty for indulging ‘free thought’ may be reckoned as 5,000*l.*! And this is the boasted liberty of the free, Protestant, Church of England in the nineteenth century! Can that be really TRUTH, or be *believed in* as Truth, which needs to be supported by such means as this?

Is it any wonder that a young man of University distinction and intellectual activity, however ready he may be, for the love of God and his fellow-men, to engage himself in the holy and blessed, though in respect of this world’s goods often ill-rewarded, labours of the ministry of souls, should yet be found unwilling to subject himself to the ‘tender mercies’ of such a system as this, and so, perhaps, suddenly, in the middle of his life,—when the fire and energy of youth are spent, and the day is too far gone for him to begin work again, and devote his powers to the heavy toil of mastering the details of some new profession, (if even such a profession were open to him, which by the present law of England is not the case,) — find himself deprived of the moderate competence which he had earned by having ‘spurned delights, and lived laborious days,’ and himself and his family stripped at a stroke of all their means of livelihood, as one of the pains and penalties of ‘thinking’?

after Sunday,° to stand at the Sacred Font and use at each Baptism, in the holy Presence of God and in the face of a Christian congregation, such words as those before quoted, or those other words in the same Service, ‘and didst also lead the children of Israel, Thy people, through the Red Sea, *figuring thereby Thy Holy Baptism,*’ with similar references in other Services to different parts of the Mosaic story, which cannot be regarded as historically true, as is shown sufficiently by the arguments already advanced in this and the preceding Part of this work, in anticipation of the mass of evidence to the same effect, which will be set forth hereafter. Yet the chain of subscription is tightly bound about the necks of the Clergy, and this is the consequence. I quote from one of several letters of a similar kind, which I have received from clergymen now ministering in the Church of England. I break no faith in publishing it, for I shall not reveal the writer’s name. But I have promised to help him, and others similarly circumstanced, as best I can : and *at present* I know no way of doing this more likely to be effectual than by laying the simple facts of the case before the eyes of the Laity. I solemnly commend to their most serious consideration the melancholy signs, which are given by such a letter as this, of the hollowness of the present Church-system, and of the absolute necessity which exists, for the relaxation of those bonds which now fetter the Clergy, if they would not have all free thought and utterance, on the subjects of deepest interest in this life and in the next, to themselves and their children, cramped, or rather stifled, in the Clergy of the National Church, and the Church itself degenerate ere long into a mere sect, the zealous guardian of an antiquated and effete tradition.

As a clergyman of our Church, anxious like yourself to search after truth, and hating to speak what my reason tells me may not be the truth, I cannot but long

to write to you on the subject of your volume on the Pentateuch. I am very glad indeed that you have resolved to continue in your office while putting forth your views; for the time is now come when those in authority *must* pronounce some authoritative opinion on the method to be pursued in the Interpretation of the Scriptures for the future.

Long before this I have had doubts, which made me miserable, about some statements in the Old Testament; and the contents of your book have now necessarily intensified those doubts, and made me wish that I could leave the Ministry, and gain my living in some other way. But I am only a poor Curate, without any interest, striving hard with wife and child to live on 100*l.* a year.

I thoroughly believe that some parts of the Pentateuch were inspired by God. But the doubts about other parts make me uncomfortable, and I wish that I could cease to be a Teacher of the Bible [? according to the Church's present system].

I have felt obliged to express dissent from one expression in the late Charge of the Bishop of LONDON. But I cannot deny myself the satisfaction of quoting other words of the same Prelate, which show how well he appreciated, at the time when he spoke them, the special needs of the present day.

Wherever a general suspicion is engendered, however unfounded it may be, that something is amiss in our system of religion, which from policy or cowardice we are anxious to conceal, there hidden infidelity will make rapid progress, and many a man of honest mind will in secret be tortured with anxiety, having no leisure to examine for himself the difficulties he has heard of, and be distressed by a painful impression that those, who ought to examine for him, are deliberately or unwittingly banded together to mislead. Thus, as is usual, wherever men take upon themselves to act against God's purposes, that very infidelity, the fear of which scared them from their duty, will grow with tenfold vigour because they have neglected to perform it.

And here it seems well to remark that the critical study of the Bible is more than ever necessary to be encouraged now, from the particular circumstances of our own age and country. Whatever may be thought of the honesty or policy of endeavouring to conceal difficulties and stifle inquiry formerly, the days, when such methods of propping up the truth of God were possible, are at an end. . . . The old times, with their mingled good and evil — the old ideas of the paternal duty of government both in Church and State to lead the mass of men, as it were, blindfold, and to shut up knowledge within the privileged caste of those who were thought likely to make a good use of it, have passed. . . . The old state of things can never be brought back. It is in our own generation and amid the men

of our own generation — amid their thoughts, bad as well as good, their questionings and doubtings and shallow disputations, as well as their energetic impatience of concealment and hatred of all formalism, that God has placed the scene of our responsibilities; and it is vain to think that we can do any good amongst them by attempting to teach them on the principles of a departed state of society, and not as their own characters and circumstances require.

It is certain that every man in this country, who can read, either knows already, or may learn every day as he reads, what those difficulties with respect to the Bible are on which infidels insist; and it must be well also that he should know their refutation; or, better still, that he should feel that confidence which is inspired by a persuasion that good and learned men have candidly met these difficulties, grappled with them fairly, and vindicated the truth. Nor can this service be said to have been performed for us by the able writers on Evidences of the last age; for, since their time, infidelity has much changed the ground of its attack. Its objections are much more connected now than in former times with a minute critical examination of the sacred books; and therefore it is in the field of criticism that it must be met and overthrown. . . . And is it not certain that there are many questions connected with the authenticity and authority of these books, on which we, in this country, with all our vaunted learning, are not as yet prepared with the requisite information and thought to enable us to vindicate the truth? Is it not too true that the great majority of serious men feel themselves quite taken, as it were, by surprise, when such difficulties are forced upon their notice? And, if the watchmen of Israel have not looked their danger steadily in the face, how can they be prepared to meet it?

Moreover, it is well to remark, in passing, that we are ourselves (in many respects very properly) encouraging studies in matters of secular literature, which are sure in time to suggest to all minds that the freedom of inquiry which they engender may sooner or later be applied also to the Sacred Books. *Dangers and Safeguards*, p. 83-87.

I conclude with an extract from HENGSTENBERG's Preface to his work on 'Daniel,' to the terms of which I heartily subscribe.

The author thinks he has a right to expect that, as he has employed arguments in this book, he will be answered with arguments. If this righteous demand should not be acceded to, the loss will not fall upon him, but on those who attempt to annihilate evidence with abuse.

Let, then, my Right Reverend Brother, who has judged and condemned me, answer my arguments by a *book*, or provide, to use the Bishop of LONDON's words, that 'good and learned men

shall *candidly* meet these difficulties, grapple with them *fairly*, and vindicate the truth'—and not seek to put them down by sneers, by mere declamation from the pulpit or the platform, or by sending a brief of excommunication to the 'Times.' If the arguments here stated can be fairly set aside, most gladly will I acknowledge my fault before the Church, and submit to the just consequences of my acts. But, if they shall appear to be well founded and true, I appeal once more to the English Laity to look to their own religious liberties, and the interests of the Truth, and to set on foot such measures, as may seem best, for obtaining through the action of Parliament, on whose decisions the system of our National Church depends, such relief for the consciences of the Clergy as shall give room for the free utterance of God's truth in the Congregation, instead of the worn-out formulæ of a bygone age. Can we not trust God's Truth to take care of itself in this world? Must we seek, in our ignorant feeble way, to prop it up by legal enactments, and fence it round by a system of fines and forfeitures and Church anathemas, lest the rude step of some 'free inquirer', should approach too near, and do some fatal injury to the Eternal Truth of God? *Have we no faith in God, the Living God?* And do we not believe that He himself is willing, and surely able as willing, to protect His own honour, and to keep in safety the souls of His children, and, amidst the conflict of opinion that will ever be waged in this world in the search after truth,—which may be vehement but need not be uncharitable,—to maintain in each humble, prayerful, heart the essential substance of that Truth, which 'maketh wise unto salvation'? Surely, as a friend has written —

To suppose that we can serve God's cause by shutting our eyes to the light, much more to suppose that we can serve it by asserting that we *see* what we do *not* see, because we *wish* to see it, is simply *intellectual Atheism*.

And when men declare, as some have done, that there can be no belief in God, no Religion, no laws binding on the conscience, no principles to purify the heart, no authoritative sanction for the most sacred duties of private, social, and public life, unless these old stories of the Pentateuch are received with implicit faith — at least, in their main features — as literally and historically true, is not this really, in however disguised a form, the very depth of Infidelity?

J. W. NATAL.

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CONTENTS.

CHAP.	PAGE
PREFACE	v—xxxvi
I. SIGNS OF DIFFERENT AUTHORS IN THE PENTATEUCH	163—174
II. THE ELOHISTIC AND JEHOVISTIC WRITERS	175—185
III. THE EARLIER HISTORICAL BOOKS OF THE OLD TESTAMENT	186—191
IV. THE LATER HISTORICAL BOOKS OF THE OLD TESTAMENT	192—197
V. SIGNS OF LATER DATE IN THE PENTATEUCH	198—208 •
VI. ADDITIONAL SIGNS OF LATER DATE IN THE PENTATEUCH	209—222
VII. WAS SAMUEL THE ELOHISTIC WRITER OF THE PENTATEUCH?	223—229
VIII. INTRODUCTION OF THE NAME JEHOVAH	230—239
IX. THE DERIVATION OF THE NAME MORIAH	240—247
X. MOUNT GERIZIM THE MOUNT OF ABRAHAM'S SACRIFICE	243—255
XI. THE NAMES ELOHIM AND JEHOVAH	256—266 ,
XII. THE ELOHISTIC PSALMS OF DAVID	267—272
XIII. THE PSALMS OF THE SECOND BOOK	273—281
XIV. THE PSALMS OF THE SECOND BOOK CONTINUED	282—290
XV. THE SIXTY-EIGHTH PSALM	291—300
XVI. THE SAME SUBJECT CONTINUED	301—309
XVII. THE REMAINING ELOHISTIC PSALMS	310—318
XVIII. THE JEHOVISTIC PSALMS CONSIDERED	319—329
XIX. THE JEHOVISTIC NAMES IN THE BOOK OF JUDGES	330—343
XX. THE JEHOVISTIC NAMES IN THE BOOKS OF SAMUEL	344—352
XXI. SUMMARY OF THE RESULTS IN PART II.	353—367
XXII. CONCLUDING REMARKS	368—384

CORRECTIONS AND ADDITIONS

TO BE MADE IN PART I, FIRST EDITION.

N.B. Most of these have been already introduced in the later editions of Part I; but they are here printed for the use of those who may only have the first edition.

Page **xix**, line 25, *for* to read at

Page **xxxiii**, line 11, *dele* in

Page **xxxvi**, line 21, *dele* be granted

Page **xxxvi**, line 22, *after* matters *insert* be frankly acknowledged to belong to the Clergy as well as to the Laity,

Page 3, line 12, *for* such matters as *read* those matters, which

Page 13, line 18, *for* therefore *read* on that account

Page 13, line 19, *for* with 'all things *read* to enjoin 'things

Page 17, line 15, *for* Pharez, *read* Pharez were

Page 18, line 25, *for* was *read* was, at least,

Page 20, line 18, *for* reading *read* meaning

Page 29, line 35, *dele* Lastly,

Page 30, line 6, *connect this line with the line preceding, as part of the same paragraph: dele the last four lines on this page, and insert the following passage:—*

Ans. We can only adhere to the plain Scripture statement that these four grandchildren of Jacob were among the number of the seventy, who went down at this time into Egypt.

It has been suggested also that 'the substantive verb, *which in such sentences is never introduced but with emphasis*, stands at the head of the clause (יָהִי) — 'and the sons of Pharez, were Hezron and Hamul' — this being the only instance in the enumeration, where it is so employed.' It is thought that 'this surely marks a distinction,' and implies that 'the sacred historian deliberately intended to *except* these two names from the remainder of his list.'

Ans. (i) Whoever will accept the above explanation must explain, as before, why these two grandsons of Judah are included, together with the two grandsons of Asher, *v.* 17, among those who 'went down with Jacob into Egypt,' whereas no other of the great-grandsons of Jacob are mentioned in the list. This surely indicates that these four, and these only, were supposed to have been born before the descent into Egypt.

(ii) The same substantive verb, יָהִי, occurs in exactly the same way, 'standing at the head of the clause,' but without any particular 'emphasis,' in *N.* iii. 17, 'and these *were* the sons of Levi by their names, Gershon, and Kohath, and Merari.'

(iii) Possibly, the introduction of the substantive verb in the case before us may

have arisen from the interruption in the narrative, caused by the parenthesis, 'but Er and Onan died in the land of Canaan.'

Page 31, line 8, *for* L.viii.-14 *read* L.viii.1-4.

Page 32, line 14, *for* thou shalt *read* they shall

Page 37, line 28, *insert the following passage:—*

In short, while it is conceivable that a later writer, *imagining* such a scene as this, may have employed such exaggerated expressions as occur in the above passages, it cannot be believed that an actual *eye-witness*, as Moses himself in the one case or Joshua in the other, *with the actual facts of the case before him*, could have expressed himself in such extravagant language.

Page 38, line 9, *insert after this line as follows:—*

And the Priest shall put on his linen garment, and his linen breeches shall he put upon his flesh, and take up the ashes which the fire hath consumed with the burnt-offering on the Altar, and he shall put them beside the Altar. And he shall put off his garments, and put on other garments, and carry forth the ashes without the camp unto a clean place. L.vi.10,11.

Page 39, line 9, *insert after this line:—*

It would rather seem, from the second of the passages above quoted, that *the Priest himself in person* was to do this, and that there is here no room for the application of the principle, *qui facit per alium, facit per se*.

Page 39, line 10, *after* outside *insert also*

Page 39, line 33, *after this line insert as follows:—*

Even if this particular direction is laid down, as is argued by some from the context, with special reference to a movable camp of soldiers engaged in a military expedition, yet how much more necessary must some such a provision have been for the vast *stationary* camp of two millions? Or, rather, how is it conceivable that such a camp could have existed without any sewage arrangements, without even the assistance for this purpose of a small running stream of water? But what would such a stream have been to the whole population of London?

Page 40, line 13, *for* on his back on foot *read* perhaps, with the help of others,

Page 45, line 22, *insert after this line* see also Neh.viii.14-17, where we find this law quoted and acted on.

Page 45, line 23, *for* seems to fix the meaning of *read* shows that, *and dele* in this . . . that it

Page 45, line 24, *after* used *insert* L.xxiii.43.

Page 47, line 25, *for* skins, *read* hair, E.xxvi.7, or skin, E.xxvi.14.

Page 47, line 26, *for* Besides this *read* Also

Page 48, line 17, *dele* also

Page 50, line 21, *after* sword? *insert* So, too, shortly afterwards, we find Moses commanding the Levites under Sinai, E.xxxii.27, 'Put every man his sword by his side, &c.' And, in the second year, we read of 'their girding on every man his weapons of war,' D.i.41, to go up and fight with the Amorites.

Page 54, line 4, *dele* now, and line 9, *for* till *read* until

Page 54, line 16, *after* in *insert* v.3 of, *and for* where *read* and

Page 54, line 17, *before v.12 insert in*

Page 89, line 11, *insert after this line as follows:—*

The same reasoning is fatal to the notion of some that the first-borns numbered in N.iii.40–43, ‘from a month old and upward,’ are only those ‘from a month old even unto five years old,’ with reference to L.xxvii.6, where the ‘singular vow’ for a person of that age is fixed at ‘five shekels,’ the same as the redemption-fee of the supernumerary first-borns in N.iii.47.

Page 97, line 2, *after this line insert:—*

Pharez, Hezron, Ram, Amminadab, Elisheba. . . E.vi.23.

Page 97, line 15, *insert as follows:—*

And this fact also may be used to explain the anomaly, that Aaron in the *third* generation was married to Elisheba in the *fourth*, E.vi.23.

Page 101, line 5, *dele* [? Levi].

Page 111, line 9, *for* historical *read* statistical

Page 113, line 8, *dele* desperate

Page 113, line 9, *dele* simply

Page 113, line 10, *dele* utter

Page 113, line 11, *dele* all

Page 128, line 23, *dele* more than

Page 129, line 13, *for* ‘his two sons to have performed *read* his two sons to have ‘performed

Page 133, line 13, *for* Ex.ii.4 *read* E.xii.4

Page 142, line 10, *for* besides women and *read* that were male beside

Page 145, lines 9,10, *to be placed in inverted commas*

Page 147, line 9, *for* that *read* the popular

Page 149, line 27, *dele* in

Page 150, line 11, *for* — being no longer *read* and no longer feel ourselves

Page 153, line 31, *for* transcendent *read* transcendant

Page 156, line 2, *for* direct *read* secret

PART II.

**THE AGE AND AUTHIORSHIP OF THE
PENTATEUCH CONSIDERED.**

CHAPTER I.

SIGNS OF DIFFERENT AUTHORS IN THE PENTATEUCH.

190. IN the First Part of this work we have been considering some of the most remarkable inconsistencies and contradictory statements, which a closer examination of the Pentateuch, as it now lies before us, reveals to the attentive reader. Most of these are of an *arithmetical* character, and *some* of them might be greatly diminished, or, perhaps, got rid of altogether, if it were possible to suppose that the number of warriors in the wilderness was only 6,000, instead of 600,000. But the story itself forbids such a supposition. The numbers of the armed men of the separate tribes are given on two different occasions, and the sum-total of these twelve tribe-numbers is, in the one case, 603,550, N.i.46, and in the other, 601,730, N.xxvi.51; and, on the first occasion, the separate tribe-numbers and the sum-total are *again*, a second time, accurately repeated in N.ii,—nay, repeated carefully *twice over*, for the three tribes constituting each of the four camps are numbered and summed up together separately, and then these four sum-totals or camp-numbers, 186,400, 151,450, 108,100, 157,600, are added together, and make up the same total as before, 603,550.

191. These numbers, indeed, are all *round* numbers, each ending with a *cipher*; and it has been suggested that there may be a clerical error, extending through the whole set of them, and that, if these ciphers be struck out, (which is equivalent to dividing all the numbers by ten,) the sum-total will be reduced to a more manageable number. But, in

fact, most of the difficulties will remain really as formidable, with a camp of 60,000 warriors, that is, with a population of 200,000 or 300,000 people, as with the larger camp of 600,000. We should only have to substitute in our imaginations the town of LIVERPOOL or MANCHESTER for the city of LONDON. Could the total number be reduced to about 6,000, *some* of the difficulties might, indeed, as we have said, disappear, but, even then, not *all* of them; for we should still have to imagine a town of 20,000 or 30,000 people, as OXFORD or CAMBRIDGE. But the separate numbers of the tribes in N.i,ii,xxvi, forbid this last reduction, as the numbers do not all consist of so many round *hundreds*.

192. Besides, the number of the *Levites* is expressly fixed by its relation to the number of *firstborns*, N.iii.39–51. These latter were 22,273, a number without a *cipher*, which cannot, therefore, be ‘reduced;’ and it is stated that these exceeded the male *Levites* by 273, v.46, for each one of whom a tax of five shekels was paid, and the whole number of shekels so paid is reckoned, v.50, as 1,365. Hence there can be no room for supposing that the whole number of male *Levites* was any other than 22,000, N.iii.39, numbered separately, as *Gershonites*, 7,500, v.22, *Kohathites*, 8,600, v.28, *Merarites*, 6,200, v.34, (the sum of which three numbers, however, is actually 22,300 instead of 22,000, where we have a remarkable inaccuracy, which has to be ‘reconciled,'); and of these, we are told, 8,580, N.iv.48,—viz. *Kohathites*, 2,750, v.36, *Gershonites*, 2,630, v.40, *Merarites*, 3,200,* v.44,—were ‘from thirty years old and up-

* N.B. The *whole number* of male *Kohathites*, as above given, 8,600, is more than *one-fourth as large again* as that of the *Merarites*, 6,200; whereas the converse is the case with the adults, since the number of *Merarite males from thirty to fifty years old*, 3,200, is just *one-sixth as large again* as that of the *Kohathites*, 2,750. Besides this palpable inconsistency, the *Merarite males ‘from thirty to fifty’* are more than *half* the whole number of males of that family, ‘from a month old and upward,’ contrary to all the data of modern statistical science. It is obvious that, with all the *appearance* of extreme accuracy, there is no real *historical truth* in any of these numbers.

ward, even unto fifty years old,' representing (say) 10,000 above the age of twenty, at which the census of the 'other' tribes was taken, N.i.3. But, if there were 10,000 Levites 'from twenty years old and upward,' it is absurd to imagine that there were only 6,000 warriors of all the twelve tribes, and very unreasonable to suppose that there were only 60,000, even if the difficulties of the story would really be relieved by such a supposition. More hopeless still is the suggestion of LABORDE, of whom Canon STANLEY writes, *Lectures on the Jewish Church*, p.122—

This difficulty, among others, has induced the well-known French commentator on the Exodus, with every desire of maintaining the letter of the narrative, to reduce the numbers of the text from 600,000 to 600 armed men.

193. If, therefore, it were still possible to believe that a whole series of numbers, such as the tribe-numbers and totals, had been systematically corrupted and exaggerated in consequence of clerical errors, yet it would then follow that all the above particulars about the Levites and first-borns must have been a pure invention of a later date, implying that the interpolating inventor had no particular reverence for the original text. And a similar reply must be made to any, who might suggest that there has been here a *wholesale fabrication of numbers*, such as is common in Oriental histories, which, however, are *not in the main untrustworthy*. It is true that in the East, and even in southern Italy, numerical exaggeration does take the place of imaginative ornament among the Kelts and Teutons. But then the histories or legends, containing such exaggerations, are not, and in extreme cases, similar to those which occur in the Pentateuch, cannot be conceived to be, *contemporary*; or, if the exaggerations are later interpolations in the original document, the interpolator *did not regard the latter as divine*.

194. Besides which, it must be observed that the 'fabrication' required to produce the numbers of the Pentateuch, must

have been of a very deliberate kind. For not only are the 'twelve' tribe-numbers in the first two instances, N.i,ii, so fixed that their sums, taken in different ways, give accurately the first sum-total, 603,550, but in the third case, N.xxvi., *they are all changed*, each being either increased or diminished by a certain amount, yet so judiciously changed that the result is obtained, which was apparently desired, of having the sum-total nearly the same as before, 601,730. It is very plain that this Hebrew author, whoever he may have been, was not so ignorant and helpless in matters of arithmetic as some have imagined.

195. Finally, we read E.xxxviii.25,26, that 'the silver of them that were numbered of the Congregation was 100 talents, and 1,775 shekels,' that is, (since 1 talent = 3,000 shekels,) altogether 301,775 shekels, at the rate of 'a bekah,' that is, half a shekel, for every man,' representing, therefore, 'a total number of 603,550 men. And each of these talents and shekels is accounted for in the construction of the Tabernacle, v.27,28.

196. We are thus, it would seem, compelled to adhere to the Scripture number of 600,000 warriors, as that which was *intended* by the sacred writer, whatever contradictions and impossibilities it introduces into the story; and, therefore, these 'arithmetical' arguments are really of the greatest importance, in the consideration of the present question. And they have this special advantage, that they can be clearly stated in definite terms, so as to be readily appreciated by practical men, and are not mixed up with those other difficulties of a *moral* nature, which, however strongly felt by very many, are not realised in the same degree by *all* devout readers of the Bible.

197. I am obliged to lay a special stress upon the above point, because not only have most of my anonymous reviewers taken refuge in some loose rhetorical expression, about the 'general uncertainty of Hebrew numbers,' and the probability of these particular numbers being 'wrong' in the story of the

Exodus, but a similar suggestion has been publicly made, since the publication of my first volume, by one distinguished 'as a' theologian and a scholar, Dr. C. J. VAUGHAN, who, in his Sermons before the University of Cambridge, recently published, *The Book and the Life*, p.106, speaks of my book as containing—

A series of apparent discrepancies in the arithmetical computations of the Pentateuch, resting for the most part on the basis of a single fundamental number, and capable, to that extent at least, of reconciliation on the supposition of a single clerical error, in a department peculiarly liable to mistake.

198. *Amicus Plato, magis amica Veritas.* I am compelled to reassert, in opposition to the statement of the above eminent writer, that, whatever process of reduction may be applicable to the immense Hebrew numbers which occur everywhere throughout the Bible,—(and my belief is that these numbers are merely set down loosely at random, in oriental fashion, not exaggerated systematically by mistake, or design, or accident, as some suppose,)—yet, with regard to these particular numbers in the story of the Exodus, there can be no mistake, and no uncertainty. There can be no *uncertainty*, because the number, 600,000, is checked in so many ways, by so many different statements—especially by the statement of the amount of silver contributed for the Tabernacle*—that there can be no doubt as to the number of warriors actually intended by the writer of the story. There can be no *mistake*—at least, if Moses wrote the story of the Exodus; because, we are told, he himself personally took a careful census of the people, the results of which, for each tribe, are set down exactly in N.i, repeated carefully in N.ii, and again, with variations, in N.xxvi.

199. It remains only to suppose that Moses did *not* write these chapters at all, (as we believe,) or did not write them *as*

* Suppose it were stated on authority that the receipts at the International Exhibition for ten days, *at a shilling a head*, amounted to 30,177l. 10s., would any one doubt that it follows as a necessary consequence that the number of persons, who entered on those days at a shilling a head, was 603,550? This is exactly the inference to be drawn from E.xxxviii.25–28.

they now stand, so that these passages, and *all the others*, where these numbers are involved, have been *systematically and deliberately falsified in later days*, which would indicate that they were not regarded as so unspeakably sacred and divine, as to be secured from such 'free handling.' I confidently challenge investigation on this point; and I call upon any, who are prepared to maintain the possibility of the story being true, although these numbers may be wrong, not merely to suggest that the numbers *may* have to be reduced, but to point out *in what way* it is conceivable that they *can* be reduced, so as to get rid of the contradictions and impossibilities which they involve, without, at the same time, introducing other difficulties into the question, as grave as any which the numbers themselves occasion. Until this is done, I must assume that I have proved above that such a reduction is impossible, without sacrificing some of the most essential details of the story, and, in fact, its general historical character.

200. But the reasonings, adduced in Part I, are by no means *all* arithmetical, though they are all of a *practical* character.

Thus, for instance, it requires only the application of common sense, and no arithmetical calculation whatever, to see that even a small body of men, women, and children, must have needed *water* (82), during the long interval of nearly forty years between the miracles at Horeb, E.xvii, and Meribah, N.xx. They wanted also *firewood* (44, 85.vii) for daily use, and must have perished, if exposed to the bitter cold of the desert of Sinai during the severe winter months (88), without such constant supplies of fuel, as were not to be obtained in that desolate waste. Further, their sheep and cattle, however few in number, must have needed *grass* (85, 86) as well as *water*; and the rules for maintaining perfect cleanliness in the Camp (44) would have been futile, if laid down for the population of a small English town, as well as for a much greater multitude. Nor would a small

body of such fugitives (56), any more than a large one, have been able to carry *tents* with them; and it would have been just as impossible for ten poor men, as for ten thousand, to have supplied themselves easily with *pigeons* or *turtle-doves* (151) under Sinai.

201. Once more, therefore, I repeat, it is vain to argue that the story is in the main correct and historically true; only the mistake is made, so common to Eastern writers, of exaggerating, perhaps a hundredfold, the numbers of the people, and placing this large body under laws, and in circumstances, which were only possible for a small community. In fact, we have only to *realise* for once to our own minds the idea of a City, as large and as populous as modern LONDON, set down, if that be conceivable or *possible*, in the midst of the Sinaitic waste, and not at one place only in that Desert, but at more than *forty different places*, N.xxxiii, if such places can be imagined in the wilderness, where the thing supposed is feasible,—without any kind of drainage, with no supplies of water for purposes of cooking or cleanliness, brought round, as in a modern town, by running streams or waterpipes to the neighbourhood, at least, of every house, with no supplies of fuel for warmth, during the frost and snow of forty winters,—even if we allow that the miraculous ‘manna,’ together with the flesh of their flocks and herds, which must have been supported, however, without water or pasturage, may have sufficed for all their wants as food, that they needed no *salt*, nor required fresh stores of raiment, for ‘their clothes waxed not old upon them, nor their shoes upon their feet,’ D.xxix.5—we have only, I repeat, once for all, deliberately to *face this question*, and to try to *realise to ourselves* such a state of things as this, and we shall see the utter impossibility of receiving any longer this story of the Exodus as literally and historically true, whatever real facts may lie at the basis of the narrative.

202. The one only cause, indeed, for astonishment is this—

not that a Bishop of the Church of England should now be stating that impossibility—but that it should be stated now, by a Bishop of the Church, as far as I am aware, *for the first time*—that such a belief should have been so long acquiesced in by multitudes, both of the Clergy and the Laity, with an unquestioning, unreasoning faith—that up to this very hour, in this enlightened age of free thought, in this highly-civilised land, so many persons of liberal education actually still receive this story in all its details—at least, in all its *main* details—as historical matter-of-fact, and insist on the paramount duty of believing in the account of the Exodus, among the ‘things necessary to salvation’ contained in the Bible, as essential to an orthodox faith in the True and Living God. Still more strange is it, and sad, that our Missionaries have been sent to teach in our name such a faith as this to the heathen, and to require them also, on the pain of eternal perdition, to believe that this history, in all its parts, with all its contradictions and impossibilities, has the seal of Divine Authority set upon it, as truly as those words, D.vi.5, ‘Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thine heart, and with all thy soul, and with all thy might.’ The consequences of such teaching are, I fully believe, most detrimental to the success of Missionary labours.*

203. Now, however, that we are able to feel that we stand on sure ground, when we assert that these books, whatever be their value, with whatever pious purpose they were written, and what-

* The last illustration which I have seen of the effect of such teaching, is given in the following statement, derived from a Report upon the native *runangas* or councils, laid before the Legislative Council of New Zealand, which I copy from the *Nelson Examiner* of Aug. 11, 1862:—‘Higher up the Thames, Mr. TURTON found a *runanga* determined to govern by the Levitical Law. Thus, cursing, adultery, and witchcraft, were to be punished by stoning, and so on throughout. And, in answer to his explanations, the simple reply was that, ‘if God had commanded it, it must be right,’ and that, ‘if it was right *then*, it could not be wrong *now*.’

ever excellent lessons they may teach, are not removed from the sphere of critical enquiry, by possessing any such Divine infallibility, as has been usually ascribed to them, there is a multitude of other difficulties, inconsistencies, and impossibilities, which will be at once apparent, if we examine carefully the Scripture narrative, and no longer suffer our eyes to be blinded, by the mere force of habit, to the actual meaning of the words which we read. Without, at present, stopping to consider those which arise from examining the story of the Creation and the Fall, as given in the first chapters of Genesis, by the light of modern Science, we will here notice the contradictions, which exist between the first account of the Creation in G.i.1-ii.3, and the second account in G.ii.4-25.

204. Upon this latter passage I will quote the words of KALISCH (*Genesis*, p.83), one of the most able modern commentators on the Hebrew text of Genesis, who does his utmost also to maintain, as far as his knowledge of the truth will allow him to do, the general historical veracity of the Mosaic narrative.

The Creation was finished. We might imagine that we see the blooming meadows, the finny tribes of the sea, and the numberless beasts of the field, and, in the midst of all this beauty and life, man with his helpmate, as princes and sovereigns. But more: the Creation was not only finished; it had been approved of also in all its parts. And, as the symbol of the perfect completion of His task, God was represented to rest, and to bless that day, which marked the conclusion of his labours.

But now the narrative seems not only to pause, but to go backward. The grand and powerful climax seems at once broken off, and a languid repetition appears to follow. Another cosmogony is introduced, which, to complete the perplexity, is, in many important features, in direct contradiction to the former.

It would be dishonesty to conceal these difficulties. It would be weakmindedness and cowardice. It would be flight, instead of combat. It would be an ignoble retreat, instead of victory. We confess there is an apparent dissonance.

205. The following are the most noticeable points of difference between the two cosmogonies.

(i) In the first, the earth emerges from the waters, and is, therefore, saturated with moisture, i.9,10.

In the second, the 'whole face of the ground' requires to be moistened, ii.6.

(ii) In the first, the birds and beasts are created before man, i.20,24,26.

In the second, man is created before the birds and beasts, ii.7,19.

(iii) In the first, all 'fowls that fly' are made out of the *waters*, i.20.

In the second, the 'fowls of the air' are made out of the *ground*, ii.19.

(iv) In the first, man is created in the image of God, i.27.

In the second, man is made of the dust of the ground, and merely animated with the breath of life; and it is only after his eating the forbidden fruit that 'the Lord God said, Behold, the man has become as one of us, to know good and evil,' ii.7, iii.22.

(v) In the first, man is made the lord of the whole earth, i.28.

In the second, he is merely placed in the garden of Eden, 'to dress it and to keep it,' ii.8,15.

(vi) In the first, man and woman are created *together*, as the closing and completing work of the whole Creation, — created also, as is evidently implied, in the same kind of way, to be the complement of one another; and, thus created, they are blessed together, i.28.

In the second, the beasts and birds are created *between* the man and the woman. First, the man is made, of the dust of the ground; he is placed *by himself* in the garden, charged with a solemn command, and threatened with a curse if he breaks it; then the beasts and the birds are made, and the man gives names to them; and, lastly, after all this, the woman is made, out of one of his ribs, but merely as a helpmate for the man. ii.7,8,15,22.

206. The fact is that the *second* account of the Creation, ii.4-25, together with the story of the Fall, iii, is manifestly composed by a different writer altogether from him who wrote the *first*, i.1-ii.3.

This is suggested at once by the circumstance that, throughout the first narrative, the Creator is always spoken of by the name, אֱלֹהִים, ELOHIM, God; whereas, throughout the second account, as well as the story of the Fall, He is always called יְהוָה אֱלֹהִים, JEHOVAH ELOHIM, LORD GOD, except in iii.1,3,5, where the writer seems to abstain, for some reason, from placing the name 'Jehovah' in the mouth of the Serpent.

This accounts naturally for the above contradictions. It would appear that, for some reason, the productions of two pens have been here united, without reference to their inconsistencies.

207. Upon the above point Dr. M'CAUL writes as follows, *Aids to Faith*, p.197:—

Most recent writers admit that, whether there be different sources or not, the author [or compiler] has formed them into one narrative [*? book*]. *There cannot, therefore, be contradiction.* [Why not? It is certainly inconceivable that, if the Pentateuch be the production of *one and the same hand throughout*, it should contain such a number of glaring inconsistencies, as those which we have already observed. No *single* author could have been guilty of such absurdities. But it is quite possible, and what was almost sure to happen in such a case, that, if the Pentateuch be *the work of different authors in different ages*, this fact should betray itself by the existence of contradictions in the narrative.] There are *differences* to be explained by the different objects which the author had in view. In the first, his object was to give an outline of the history of the universe; in the second, to relate the origin and primitive history of man, so far as it was necessary, as a preparation for the history of the Fall. In the former, therefore, all the steps of creation are treated in *chronological order*. In the latter only so much is alluded to as is necessary for the author's purpose, and in the order which that purpose required.

A reference to the simple text of G.ii is the best reply to such reasoning as the above.

208. A similar contradiction exists also in the account of the Deluge, as it now stands in the Bible.

Thus in G.vi.19,20, we read as follows:—

‘Of every living thing of all flesh, *two* of every sort shalt thou bring into the Ark, to keep them alive with thee; they shall be male and female. Of *fowls* after their kind, and of cattle after their kind, of every creeping thing of the earth after his kind, *two* of every sort shall come unto thee, to keep them alive.’

But in G.vii.2,3, the command is given thus:—

‘Of every clean beast thou shalt take to thee by *sevens*, the male and his female, and of beasts that are not clean by *two*, the male and his female; of *fowls* also of the air by *sevens*, the male and the female, to keep seed alive upon the face of all the earth.’

It is impossible to reconcile the contradiction here observed, in the numbers of living creatures to be taken into the Ark, especially in the case of the *fowls*, of which *one* pair of every kind is to be taken, according to the first direction, and *seven* pairs, according to the second.

209. But here also the matter explains itself easily, when we observe that the former passage is by the hand of that writer, who uses only ELOHIM, and the latter passage by the other writer, who uses JEHOVAH, as well as ELOHIM, though he does not now use the compound phrase, JEHOVAH ELOHIM. It did not occur to the one, — whether aware, or not, of the distinction between clean and unclean beasts, — to make any provision for sacrificing immediately after the Flood. The latter bethinks himself of the necessity of a sacrifice, G.viii.20, when Noah and his family come out of the Ark; and he provides, therefore, the mystical number of seven pairs of clean beasts and fowls for that purpose.

CHAPTER II.

THE ELOHISTIC AND JEHOVISTIC WRITERS.

210. It will be seen hereafter, when we proceed to examine critically the whole book of Genesis, that throughout the book the two different hands, which we have already detected, are distinctly visible; and the recognition of this fact will explain at once a number of strange and otherwise unaccountable contradictions. One of these two writers, it will be found, is distinguished by the *constant* use of the word Elohim, the other by the intermixture with it of the name Jehovah, which two words appear as God and LORD, (not 'Lord,' אֲדֹנָי, *Adonai*,) in our English translation. Sometimes the latter writer uses *only* Jehovah for considerable intervals, as the other uses only Elohim: thus, in i.1–ii.3 we have only Elohim, 35 times, in xxiv, only Jehovah, 19 times. Can any one believe that these two passages were written by one and the same writer?

211. Hence these two parts of the book are generally known as the Elohist and Jehovist portions. The Elohist passages, taken together, form a tolerably connected whole, only interrupted, here and there, by a break, caused apparently (but this we shall have to consider hereafter) by the Jehovist having removed some part of the Elohist's narrative, replacing it, perhaps, by one of his own. And it should be noted that the *Elohist* passages do not generally assume the reader's acquaintance with facts, which are mentioned only in antecedent *Jehovist* passages, except in such cases as those above referred to, where the Jehovist has, probably, as will be seen, replaced an Elohist section by words of his own. On the other hand, the Jehovist passages, taken

by themselves, are mere disjointed fragments, and require the Elohist story to connect them with each other.

212. This implies at once that the Elohist was the oldest of the two writers, and that his narrative may have been used by the other as the *groundwork*, upon which he framed his own additions. The Jehovist, in fact, may have revised what the Elohist had written, making his own insertions here and there, sometimes in long passages, (as in the second account of the Creation,) sometimes in shorter ones, (as in the small section about the Deluge,) sometimes interpolating two or three verses only, or even a single verse or part of a verse, which makes its appearance in the midst of the older writing, and, now and then, in such a way as to make it difficult to assign precisely to each writer his own particular portion. In most cases, however, the distinction of the two hands is so plain, that it cannot be mistaken by any attentive reader.

213. Besides the peculiarity in the use of the Divine Name, there are other differences in style and language, which are found to distinguish the two writers.

Thus the Elohist uses the expression, אֱלֹהֵי שָׁדַי, *El Shaddai*, ALMIGHTY GOD, xvii.1,* xxviii.3, xxxv.11, xliii.14, xlviii.3, xlix.25, which the Jehovist *never* employs.

Again the Elohist uses *Israel* as a *personal* name for Jacob, xxxv.21,22, xxxvii.3,13, xliii.6,8,11, xlv.28, xlvi.1,2,29,30, xlvii.29,31, xlviii.2,8,10,11,13,14,21, xlix.2, 1.2,—the Jehovist *never*.

Also the Elohist uses always *Padan* or *Padan-Aram*, i. e. the ‘cultivated field of the highlands,’ for the mountainous district near the sources of the Euphrates and Tigris, xxv.20, xxviii.2,5,6,7, xxxi.18, xxxiii.18, xxxv.9,26, xlvi.15, xlviii.7, a name which occurs nowhere else in any other part of the Bible; whereas the Jehovist uses *Aram-Naharaim*, i. e. the ‘highlands

* The occurrence of the name, Jehovah, in this verse, (N.B. *in this verse only* of the whole chapter,) will be considered, when we review the whole book of Genesis in Part III.

of the two rivers,' xxiv.10 (E. V. Mesopotamia), which name appears also again in D.xxiii.4, Ju.iii.8; 1Ch.xix.6, Ps.lx.(title).

214. We shall find that the Elohist narrative forms the basis of the whole story from Genesis to Joshua, fragments of it appearing, here and there, throughout. In fact, at the very end of Joshua, xxiv.32, we have a passage, containing the account of Joseph's bones being brought at last into the land of Canaan, and buried in Shechem, which is evidently by the same hand as that which wrote Joseph's dying injunction about them in G.1.25, and that which recorded the fact of Moses taking them out of Egypt in E.xiii.19 : and all these, as we shall see, are due to the Elohist.

215. We shall have occasion to return to this subject hereafter. But this circumstance, viz. that such unmistakable differences of expression distinguish, throughout the book of Genesis, the parts which are due to these separate writers, may almost, with reference to the momentous questions involved, be called providential, since it enables us to speak positively on some points, which might otherwise have been still subject to doubt, and will be found greatly to relieve the difficulty of determining, with some approach to probability, the age of the different portions of the Pentateuch.

216. But this simple fact, which, when once attention is drawn to it, will be so obvious to any unprejudiced reader that it cannot be disputed, is enough by itself to set aside the ordinary notion of the whole Pentateuch having been written by Moses, and, as such, coming to us in every part with the sanction arising from his Divine Mission. It does, however, more than this. It proves that the original Elohist document was not considered so venerable and sacred by the second writer, whoever he may have been, in whatever age he may have lived, that he was restrained by any religious fears or scruples from meddling with it,—from altering, enlarging, or curtailing it, at his own pleasure, and mixing up with it, as of equal value, his own compositions. Even if *both* were divinely inspired to an equal degree, yet it

must seem strange that one inspired writer should take such liberties with the writings of another, believed to be divinely infallible,—that one man, under the guidance of the Holy Spirit, should amend, add to, or erase, in this way, portions of a story, which either was, or was believed to be, in its every letter and word, of Divine original, and, as such, of absolute, immutable authority.

217. It may be well here, before we proceed further, to insert a few quotations from KURTZ, which will show the gradual progress of an honest mind, in the investigation of the matter now before us, from the most decided orthodoxy at starting, to a very considerable change of opinion at the conclusion of his work.

I quote first from vol.i.p.56-65.

It is a historical fact, better established than any other in antiquarian research, that the Pentateuch is the basis and the necessary preliminary of all Old Testament history and literature, both of which — and with them Christianity as their fruit and perfection — would resemble a tree without roots, a river without a source, or a building which, instead of resting on a firm foundation, was suspended in the air, if the composition of the Pentateuch were relegated to a later period in Jewish history. The references to the Pentateuch, occurring in the history and literature of the Old Testament, are so numerous and comprehensive, and they bear on so many different points, that we cannot even rest satisfied with the admission, which BERTHEAU himself would readily make, that many portions of the present Pentateuch date, indeed, from the time of Moses, but were only collated and elaborated by a later editor. We go further, and maintain that the *whole Pentateuch* — its five books, and all the portions of which it is at present made up — is the basis and the necessary antecedent of the history of the Jewish people, commonwealth, religion, manners, and literature. We have not reached the stage in our researches, when we shall submit proof for this assertion. This, indeed, is the object of the history, which we propose to furnish in the following pages.

The necessity, on the one hand, of considering the Pentateuch as the basis of Jewish history, in all the relations of its internal developement, and, on the other, the appearance, at the very period when the Pentateuch must have been composed, of the man whom Israel celebrated as the founder of its national and political history, has in all ages induced the representatives, both of the Synagogue and of the Church, to maintain, in accordance with the most ancient tradition, the Mosaic authorship of this, the fundamental, work of the Old Covenant. But this principle may be held in a narrower, and in a wider, acceptance of it. In the former case, the

whole Pentateuch, as at present existing, is held to be from the pen of Moses, (of course, regarding the passage D.xxxii.48—xxxiv as a later addition and conclusion, written by a contemporary who survived Moses). In the latter case, it is thought that only certain portions of the Pentateuch had been written by Moses himself, and the rest by his contemporaries or survivors (collaborators or disciples), either at his own behest, and under his own superintendence, or, at least, in the same spirit, and that with them the sections and fragments, left by Moses himself, had been combined into one work. The latter opinion has of late been advocated by DELITZSCH; the former, (which is also the old one), has latterly been set forth by HENGSTENBERG, RANKE, HÄVERNICK, DRECHSLER, WELTE, HERBST, SCHOLZ, KEIL, and the AUTHOR, in his 'Contribution towards proving and defending the Unity of the Pentateuch,' and in his 'Unity of Genesis.' The same view will be maintained and defended by the Author in the Introduction which is soon to appear.

We have not indeed at any time concealed it from ourselves or from others that, notwithstanding the able works of HENGSTENBERG, RANKE, DRECHSLER, and our own attempts, the argument, which upholds the original unity of Genesis, and of the Pentateuch, was not wholly free from difficulties.

Among these the following are the principal : —

(i) The almost exclusive use of the name Elohim in the sections, which manifestly form part of (what is called) the fundamental portion of the work. Granting that the term Elohim may, in many, or even in most, of these passages, be shewn to have been naturally and necessarily chosen on account of the idea attaching to that term, still many other passages might be adduced, which require to be *twisted*, in order to admit of this explanation. If, besides, we take into consideration E.vi.2, it is indeed probable that the use of the name Jehovah had *purposely* been avoided in some passages.

(ii) The absence of all reference to the blessing of Abraham — (G.xii.3, xviii.18, xxii.18, xxiv.7, xxviii.14, — all Jehovistic sections) — in Elohistic sections, where we should certainly have been warranted in expecting to find an allusion to it, *e.g.* in G.xvii.

(iii) Frequently we notice a *usus loquendi* peculiar to each of the two sections. It is, indeed, true that STÄHELIN has urged this very much beyond what sound criticism warrants. We believe that, in our two critical works, we have irrefragably shewn that about nine-tenths of the words and modes of expression, which he mentions as characteristic of each of the two sections, are entirely fanciful. But we confess that in some cases we have been unsuccessful in shewing that the differences in the mode of expression were due to the difference in the subjects treated. Among these we reckon the striking circumstance, that the Elohistic sections always designate Mesopotamia as *Padan-Aram*, and the Jehovistic as *Aram-Naharaim*.

But, despite these difficulties, which at the time we knew we had not *perfectly* removed, we thought with a good conscience to maintain and defend the unity of Genesis.

218. Let us now see how KURTZ is obliged to modify his view, 'when' he has reached the end of his work, iii.p.502-522. . .

We cannot conceal the fact, that our examination of the middle books of the Pentateuch has brought us more and more to the conclusion, that *several authors have taken part in the composition of the Pentateuch*. Our inquiry, hitherto, has not been thoroughly critical in its character, but has been conducted primarily and chiefly in connection with the developement of the plan of salvation, and therefore cannot be regarded as thoroughly exhaustive. As far as it has gone, it has brought us to the following conclusions, though our mind is still wavering and undecided.

(i) It is probable that Moses composed, and committed to writing with his own hand, simply those portions of the Pentateuch, which are expressly attributed to him.

(ii) The groups of laws in the central books, of whose authorship no express statement is made, must have been written down by the direction of Moses, and under his supervision, *before* the addresses in Deuteronomy were delivered, and immediately *after* they emanated from the mouth of Moses.

(iii) The last revision of the Pentateuch, and its reduction into the form in which it has come down to us, took place in the latter portion of the life of Joshua, or very shortly after his death.

In the *historical* portions of the Pentateuch, we must admit the existence of two distinct sources, which may be described as the 'groundwork' and the 'supplementary work.' Whether the groundwork consisted originally of historical matter only, or contained from the very outset the groups of laws in the central books,—whether it was written by the author who compiled the central groups of laws, or not,—these, and other questions of a similar character, we are utterly unable to determine.

219. KURTZ then states his own conclusions as follows :—

At all events, we venture to express it as our confident persuasion, that the question, as to the origin and composition of the Pentateuch, is far from having been settled, either by HÄVERNICK, HENGSTENBERG, and KEIL, on the one hand, or by TUCH, STÄHELIN, and DELITZSCH, on the other, and still less by EWALD or HUPFELD. But whether the further attempts of scientific criticism to solve the problem shall continue to follow the direction already taken by these meritorious scholars, or whether they shall strike out an entirely new and independent course, and whether the results obtained shall be favourable or unfavourable to the unity and authenticity of the Pentateuch, the following points are, to our mind, so firmly established, that no criticism can ever overthrow them.

(i) The Pentateuch, in its present form, is *canonical* and *theopneustic*, composed, arranged, and incorporated in the codex of the Sacred Scriptures of the Ancient Covenant, with the cooperation of the Holy Spirit.

(ii) It is *authentic* : so far as its *Divine* origin is concerned, authentic, because it

is canonical; and, so far as its *human* origin is concerned, authentic and *Mosaic*, because, even though everything contained in it may not have been written by the pen of Moses himself, yet the composition of all the rest, and the arrangement of the whole, was completed within the circle of his assistants, pupils, and contemporaries, and to a great extent was certainly performed under his supervision and by his direction.

(iii) Even if the separate portions of the Pentateuch are not all the production of one and the same pen, they form one complete work, and the whole is *uniform*, well-planned, well-arranged, and harmonious.

(iv) The Pentateuch in its present form constituted the *foundation* of the Israelitish history, whether civil, religious, moral, ceremonial, or even literary.

In addition to the fact, that it is not stated that the whole of the Pentateuch was written by Moses himself, but only a (considerable) portion of it, throughout those portions which are not so attested we constantly meet with *data*, which are apparently altogether irreconcilable with such a view. Notwithstanding all that HÄVERNICK, HENGSTENBERG, WELTE, and KEIL, have said to the contrary, (and what they have said is to a great extent very important and convincing), it appears to be indisputable, that, even apart from D.xxxiv, *there are portions of the Pentateuch which are post-Mosaic, or, at all events, Non-Mosaic*, though by far the largest part of what critics adduce does not come under this head at all.

220. As specimens of the manner in which HENGSTENBERG attempts to account for the use, now of Elohim, now of Jehovah, throughout the book of Genesis, on the supposition of the whole book being the work of one author, Moses, the following extracts may suffice from his work on the Pentateuch.

‘The plural form, Elohim, is in place only where regard is had to the *plenitude of power*, and in it all other things, — unity, personality, holiness, — are forgotten. It forms a kind of analogy, when, for the *person* of an earthly king, is substituted the *state*, the *government*, the *authority*. . . . However comprehensive this designation is, no one would easily use it in a truly devotional prayer, with a sense of the exceeding nearness of God.’ i.273.

Ans. What shall be said then of Ps.cxxxix.23, ‘Search me, Elohim, and know my heart, try me, and know my thoughts,’ &c.,—or of Ps.xlii.2, ‘My soul thirsteth for Elohim, for the Living Elohim: when shall I come and appear before Elohim?’—or of Ps.li.10, ‘Create in me a clean heart, O Elohim, and renew a right spirit within me,’—or of a multitude of other such passages?

‘G.iv.1. And Eve bare Cain and said, I have gotten a man from *Jehovah*:’ comp. v.25, ‘And she bare a son, and called his name Seth, ‘For *Elohim* hath appointed me another seed, instead of Abel whom Cain slew.’

‘At the birth of her first child, Eve’s piety was *very animated*. God had shown

by the *punishment* inflicted [in expelling them from the garden, &c.] that He was *Jehovah*; and now He is also known to be Jehovah by the *benefit* conferred. In her first-born Eve saw a blessed pledge of His grace. [Hence she uses the name Jehovah.] At Seth's birth her pious feelings were *less lively*; they went no further than an acknowledgment of God's general Providence; and the view of the event, as one in the ordinary course of nature, was not, so entirely as before, kept in the background,' — [so she uses the name Elohim!]

'G.xxviii.3,4. 'And *El-Shaddai* bless thee, &c., that thou mayest inherit the land of thy sojournings, which *Elohim* gave to Abraham.'

'In the parallel passages of the former chapter, *Jehovah* is used. How are we to account for the use of the general names, *El-Shaddai* and *Elohim*, in this place? Evidently from the relation of this blessing to that contained in the preceding chapter. The blessing here is only an *echo* of that — a *reminiscence* of it. There the transaction is far more solemn; Isaac's religious sentiments expanded themselves, and assumed an unwonted distinctness. Here, on the contrary, he remained in a lower region, and was satisfied with a reference to the all-controlling Providence. He had here no reason for rising above that ordinary tone of religious sentiment, according to which God was still to the Patriarchs *El-Shaddai* and *Elohim*. *Had this been the first blessing of Jacob, Jehovah would necessarily have been used (!)*'

'*Ans.* But, strangely enough, in that very first blessing, G.xxvii.28, we have, 'Therefore *Elohim* give thee of the seed of heaven, &c.,' that is, Isaac uses the name Elohim, not Jehovah, in actually blessing Jacob, though, it is true, he compares the smell of his raiment to the 'smell of a field which Jehovah hath blessed.'

'G.xxix,xxx. In this section, containing an account of the birth and names of Jacob's sons, the two divine names are constantly interchanged. Leah regards the birth of her first four sons in reference to *Jehovah*, — '*Jehovah* hath looked upon my affliction,' xxix.32; '*Jehovah* hath heard that I was hated,' v.33; 'Now will I praise *Jehovah*,' v.35. [H. does not notice the fact that no reference is made to Jehovah at the birth of *Levi*.] At the birth of Zilpah's children there is *no* reference to the Supreme. At the birth of Leah's fifth son, she said, '*Elohim* hath given me my hire,' xxx.18, and at that of the sixth, '*Elohim* hath given me good dowry,' v.20.

'At the birth of Bilhah's first son, Rachel said, '*Elohim* hath judged me,' xxx.6, and at that of her second, 'With the wrestlings of *Elohim* have I wrestled,' v.8. At the birth of her own first son, she said, '*Elohim* hath taken away my reproach,' v.23. On the other hand, at the birth of her second son, she expresses her hope in *Jehovah*, — 'And she called his name Joseph, and said, *Jehovah* shall add to me another son,' v.24. [These last words, however, were not spoken, according to the story, at the birth of *Benjamin*, but at the same time with the former words, at the birth of *Joseph*, at whose birth, therefore, reference is made both to Elohim and Jehovah.]

'This simple survey of facts will suffice, even for persons who may not be satis-

fied with all the details, to awaken the conviction, that the Divine Names are here employed with a distinct perception of their difference, and from internal reasons. The different circumstances of the two sisters, to which they constantly refer at the birth of their sons, form the key to the use of the Divine names. Leah was suffering injustice and out of health. Her hardhearted and jealous sister bore the principal blame of her husband's aversion to her, and made use of this aversion to ridicule and depreciate her. Under these circumstances, Leah acknowledged that the offspring, granted to her and denied to Rachel, was not merely the effect of a general operation of Providence, a *concursus divinus* such as constantly attended this event, [hence she does not use the word *Elohim*,] but specially an act of the living, personal, righteous, and rewarding God [that is, she refers to *Jehovah*]. But, as to the children of her *handmaid*, no notice is taken of the Divine agency, either by Leah or the historian. There was nothing singular, or out of the ordinary course of nature, either preceding, or attending, their birth. If God had wished to give Leah more children, He could have done it without this expedient. [But what is to be said of the case of her own son, Levi, with respect to whom also 'no notice is taken of the Divine agency, either by Leah or the historian' ?] In the birth of the fifth and sixth sons, the historian and Leah acknowledge the Divine hand. Yet that special importance, which was attached to the birth of the first *four* sons, was no longer felt; the object was fully attained. Matters returned to their wonted path; Leah yields to the influence of habit; her devotional feelings are less strongly excited; her eye is chiefly directed to natural causes, and she acknowledges only an indistinct Divine co-operation. [That is, she refers only to *Elohim* (!) Again, we must ask, how is it to be explained that at the birth of Levi, the *third* son, she refers neither to the one name nor the other ?]

'Rachel's state of mind at first appears to have been analogous to that of Leah at a later period. She had no motive to raise herself to *Jehovah*; she would rather dread Him as a Judge and Avenger (!) To pronounce His Name was more than she ventured to do at the birth of her handmaiden's son, for she was too well aware how far it was the result of her own device. Not till the birth of her own first-born, in which she justly acknowledges a gift of the Divine favour, (and which the historian describes as such,) did she become more courageous and confident; she then ventured to apply for a second son to *Jehovah*; she forgot that there was still cause for fear, since she had persisted in her unjust conduct towards her sister. [What sign is there of all this ?] So the son, whom she asked of *Jehovah*, was given to her by *Jehovah*, but as a son of sorrow.' i.p.359-362.

221. In this style HENGSTENBERG goes through the whole book of Genesis and the first chapters of Exodus, giving some reason or other, such as those above instanced, why in each case one name is used and not the other. Thus with reference to G.xxxi.1, he writes again, i.p.362 :—

'Jacob, in conversing with his wives, uses Elohim, even when, looking only at the subject, Jehovah might have been more suitable. *Elohim* had not suffered Laban to hurt him, v.7; *Elohim* had taken away Laban's cattle, v.9; although, in these events, there had been a fulfilment of the promise, which *Jehovah* had made to Jacob on his departure from home. Even the 'angel of *Elohim*' had commanded Jacob to return, v.11: yet, according to the statement of the *historian* in v.3, this summons had proceeded from *Jehovah*. Now, since this use of *Elohim* cannot be accounted for from the nature of the subject, we must look for its explanation in the persons whom Jacob addressed. We may do this with less hesitation, since these persons give evidence of the vagueness of their religious knowledge, by their own use of *Elohim* on subjects which peculiarly belong to the jurisdiction of *Jehovah*. [Yet, at the birth of their children, according to H. himself, they had used the two names not indiscriminately, but with clear and proper distinction.] *Elohim*, according to Jacob's wives, had taken away their father's possessions; whatever *Elohim* commanded him, they exhorted him to do. They did not, perhaps, speak thus, because *Jehovah* was utterly unknown to them, but because He stood at a distance from them, so that they could only elevate themselves to Him in some solemn moments, of which the preceding section furnishes instances.'

But the above examples are sufficient to explain the language of KURTZ, when he candidly says, as quoted above in (217.i), that many passages of Genesis 'require to be twisted' in order to show that the term *Elohim* was 'naturally and necessarily chosen on account of the idea attaching to it.'

222. It will be seen that KURTZ has been 'compelled, by a conscientious regard to the truth, to abandon a great part of the ground which he once maintained, and which is still maintained so strenuously by those who cling to the ordinary view. He still believes, however, that large portions of the Pentateuch were written down by Moses himself, and the 'groups of laws in the central books,' by the 'direction of Moses,' at all events, and 'under his supervision.' Our previous considerations have forced upon us the conviction, by reason of the impossibilities contained in it, that the account of the Exodus, *generally*, is wanting in historical truth, and that, consequently, it cannot be assumed beforehand as certain, without a careful examination of each part of the narrative, that any of such 'groups of laws,'

as the story describes, were laid down in the wilderness. We shall consider this point more fully hereafter. But, if the last four books of the Pentateuch must be pronounced to be, for the most part, unhistorical, it will hardly be contended that the book of Genesis can be any other than, in the main, unhistorical also.

223. It is quite possible, and, indeed, as far as our present enquiries have gone, highly probable, that Moses may be an historical character,—that is to say, it is probable that legendary stories, connected with his name, of some remarkable movement in former days, may have existed among the Hebrew tribes, and these legends may have formed the foundation of the narrative. But this is merely conjectural. The result of our enquiries, as far as we have proceeded, is that such a narrative as that which is contained in the Pentateuch, could not have been written in the age of Moses, or for some time afterwards (175). But this statement does not amount to a denial that the Israelites did leave Egypt, and remain for a time in the wilderness of Sinai, under circumstances which produced a profound impression on the national mind. And, indeed, it is most reasonable to believe that some great event in the ancient history of the Hebrew people, of which a traditionary recollection was retained among them, may have given to the Elohist the idea of his work, and been made by him the basis of his story.

CHAPTER III.

THE EARLIER HISTORICAL BOOKS OF THE OLD TESTAMENT.

224. WE must next endeavour to arrive at some clearer notion, from an examination of the books of the Pentateuch themselves, as to the time when, the persons by whom, and the circumstances under which, they were most probably written. And, in pursuing our investigations, we need not be restrained by any fear of trespassing upon divine and holy ground. The writers of these books, whatever pious intentions they may have had in composing them, cannot now be regarded as having been under such constant *infallible* supernatural guidance, as the ordinary doctrine of Scripture Inspiration supposes. We are at liberty, therefore, to draw such inferences from the matter which lies before us, and to make such conjectures, as we should be readily allowed to do, in a critical examination of any other ancient writings.

For the present, however, it will be necessary to defer any complete survey of the entire contents of each separate book, and confine ourselves to those matters only, which bear upon the particular points now under consideration.

225. Here, first, it should be noticed that the books of the Pentateuch are never ascribed to Moses in the inscriptions of Hebrew manuscripts, or in printed copies of the Hebrew Bible. Nor are they styled the ‘Books of Moses’ in the Septuagint or Vulgate, but only in our modern translations, after the example

of many eminent Fathers of the Church, who, with the exception of JEROME, and, perhaps, ORIGEN, were, one and all of them, very little acquainted with the Hebrew language, and still less with its criticism.*

The Jews do not speak of the First, Second, &c. Book of Moses, but designate each Book by the first word which occurs in it in Hebrew; except that for Numbers they employ **בְּמִדְבָּר**, 'In the wilderness,' which word occurs in the first verse, and is probably chosen as more expressive than the first word **וַיֹּאמֶר**, 'And He said,' which was used in the days of JEROME.

* BLEEK quotes from GESSENIUS (*der Hebr. Sprache*, p. 104) the following instance of the Hebrew scholarship of the fourteenth century, from DURANDUS, Bishop of Meaux (ob. A.D. 1333), *ad Apoc. xix. 1* :

'Alleluja: AUGUSTINUS sic exponit, *al*, salvum, *le*, me, *lu*, fac, *ja*, domine; HIERONYMUS sic, *alle*, cantate, *lu*, laudem, *ja*, ad dominum; GREGORIUS sic, *alle*, pater, *lu*, filius, *ja*, spiritus sanctus, vel *alle*, lux, *lu*, vita, *ja*, salus; M. PETRUS ANTISIDORENSIS sic, *al*, altissimus, *le*, levatus in cruce, *lu*, lugebant apostoli, *ja*, jam resurrexit.'

Of course, AUGUSTINE and JEROME never made the blunders here ascribed to them, and the latter was an accomplished Hebrew scholar. But the Fathers were, generally, very ignorant of Hebrew. They relied almost entirely on the Septuagint and Italic Versions; and hence several of them confounded Amos, **אַמּוֹס**, the father of Isaiah, with the Prophet Amos, **עֲמוֹס**, because the two names have the same form in Greek and Latin, 'Ἀμώς, Amos.

So TERTULLIAN and AUGUSTINE discuss the use of the name 'Jehovah-Elohim' in G.ii.4, in profound ignorance of the true meaning of the word 'Jehovah,' but basing their arguments only on the LXX equivalent for it, *Képios*, 'Lord,' and the Vulgate, 'Dominus.' Thus the former writes, *adv. Hermog.* iii, 'The Scripture supports our view, which has distinctly attributed each name to Him, and exhibited each at its own proper time. For it names Him God (Elohim), indeed, at once, since He always was; 'in the beginning God made the heaven and the earth.' And so, while He was making the things, of which He was afterwards to be 'Lord,' it uses only 'God,' — 'God said,' 'God made,' — and nowhere as yet 'Lord.' But, when He had completed the whole, and man, especially, who was properly to understand the name 'Lord,' nay, who is also called 'Lord,' then also it has added the name 'Lord,' — 'And the Lord took the man, &c.' And the latter, *de Gen. ad lit.* viii. says, 'It was written for the sake of man, to admonish him, how needful it was for him to have God for his 'Lord,' that is, to live obediently under His Lordship.'

Hence we cannot take any account of these Titles, in discussing the question of the real origin of these books.

226. JEROME,* however, has no difficulty in admitting the possibility of the truth of the apocryphal story in 2Esdr.xiv, where Ezra is introduced as saying, v.21,22,—

‘Thy Law is burnt; therefore no man knoweth the things that are done of Thee, or the works that shall begin. But, if I have found grace before Thee, send the Holy Ghost into me, and I shall write all that hath been done in the world since the beginning, which were written in Thy Law, that men may find Thy path, and that they, which live in the latter days, may live.’

And Ezra says that his prayer was heard, and he received a command, to retire into a private place with five men, ‘ready to write swiftly,’ and ‘many box-tables to write upon.’

‘So I took the five men, as He commanded me, and we went into the field, and remained there. And the next day, behold, a voice called me, saying, Esdras, open thy mouth, and drink that I give thee to drink. Then opened I my mouth, and, behold, He reached me a full cup, which was full as it were with water, but the colour of it was like fire. And I took it, and drank; and, when I had drunk of it, my heart uttered understanding, and wisdom grew in my breast, for my spirit strengthened my memory; and my mouth was opened, and shut no more. The

* *Ad Hebr.* c.3: Sive Mosen dicere volueris auctorem Pentateuchi, sive Esdram ejusdem instauratorem operis, non recuso.

‘Whether you choose to say that Moses was the author of the Pentateuch or Esdras the renewer of that work, I have no objection.’

The earlier Fathers, CLEMENS ALEX. and IRENÆUS speak yet more positively:—

κὰν τῇ Ναβουχοδονόσορ αἰχμαλωσίᾳ διαφθαρείσων τῶν γραφῶν, κατὰ τοὺς Ἀρταξέρξου τοῦ Περσῶν βασιλέως χρόνους, ἐπίπνους Ἐσδρας ὁ Λευίτης ὁ ἱερεὺς γενόμενος πάσας τὰς παλαιὰς αὐθις ἀνανεούμενος προεφήτευσε γραφάς. CLEM. ALEX. *Strom.* lxxii.149.

‘And, when the Scriptures had been destroyed in the Captivity of Nebuchadnezzar, in the times of Artaxerxes the king of the Persians, Esdras the Levite the Priest, having become inspired, renewing again produced prophetically all the ancient Scriptures.’

πάντας ἀνατάξασθαι λόγους, καὶ ἀποκαταστήσαι τῷ λαῷ τὴν διὰ Μωϋσέως νομοθεσίαν. IREN.iii.25.

‘Then, in the times of Artaxerxes, the king of the Persians, He inspired Esdras the Priest of the tribe of Levi, to set in order again all the words of the former Prophets, and restore to the people the legislation by Moses.’

Highest gave understanding unto the five men, and they wrote the wonderful visions of the night that were told, which they knew not; and they sat forty days, and they wrote in the day, and at night they ate bread.' *v.37-42*.

227. Again, it is probable that the Pentateuch existed originally not as *five* books, but as *one*. TOMLINE writes :—

Though Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers, Deuteronomy, stood as separate books in the private copies, used by the Jews in the time of Josephus, they were written by their author, Moses, in one continued work, and still remain in that form in the public copies read in the Jewish synagogues. It is not known when the division into five books took place. But, probably, it was first adopted in the Septuagint Version (B.C. 277), as the Titles, prefixed to the different books, are of Greek derivation. The beginnings of Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers, and Deuteronomy, are very abrupt, and plainly show that these books were formerly joined on to Genesis.

Notwithstanding the support given to the above conjecture, as to the *time* when the whole work was divided into five books, by the fact that each book is now called by a Greek name, yet we shall see that there is reason for believing that the division may have been made at a much earlier date, when the Jews had returned from Babylon, and their Sacred Books were collected and set in order by Ezra about B.C. 450.

228. For we have an instance of similar quintuple division in the Psalms, which also consist of five books, each ending with a Doxology, xli.13, lxxii.18,19, lxxxix.52, cvi.48, cl.6, or, rather, the whole of Ps.cl may be regarded as a closing Doxology. Now, that the whole collection of Psalms, as it now stands,—or, rather, to the end of Book IV,—existed before the time of the composition of the Book of Chronicles, is indicated by the fact, that in 1Ch.xvi.7-36, we have a Psalm ascribed to David, which is evidently made up of portions of different Psalms of Book IV. This will appear plainly by comparing *v.8-22* with Ps.cv.1-15, *v.23-33* with Ps.xcvi, *v.34* with Ps.cvi.1, *v.35,36*, with Ps.cvi.47,48, which last two verses are the Doxology at the end of Book IV, so that Book IV must then have been completed, and closed up as a separate collection. Hence it

follows that, if the Book of Chronicles was composed, (as almost all "Commentators of all classes maintain), at an age earlier than that of the LXX, this division of the Psalms must have existed previously to the Greek translation; and it is very possible that the quintuple division, both of the Psalms and of the Pentateuch, may have been made in the time of Ezra.

As already intimated, we shall see that the book of Joshua formed originally part of the same work.

229. In the Pentateuch and book of Joshua we find recorded the history of mankind, with special reference to its bearing upon the Hebrew people, in one continuous narrative, with only one considerable break, (viz. of about 215 years between the end of Genesis and the beginning of Exodus,) until the death of Joshua, after the Hebrew tribes were settled, according to the story, in the possession of the promised land of Canaan.

The history of the people is continued in the books of Judges, Ruth, Samuel, and Kings, through the reigns of the different kings, into the middle of the Babylonish Captivity, the last notice in the book of Kings being that 'in the seven and thirtieth year of the captivity of Jehoiachin, king of Judah,' that is, about twenty-seven years after the destruction of Jerusalem,

'Evil-Merodach, the king of Babylon, in the year that he began to reign, did lift up the head of Jehoiachin, king of Judah, out of prison; and he spake kindly to him, and set his throne above the throne of the kings that were with him in Babylon, and changed his prison-garments; and he did eat bread continually before him *all the days of his life*. And his allowance was a continual allowance given him of the king, a daily rate for every day, *all the days of his life*.' 2K.xxv.27-30.

230. We have no occasion at present to consider more particularly the age of each of these books. It will be sufficient to observe that the last portion of the book of Kings must have been written, as the words italicised in the above text seem to indicate, *after* the death of Jehoiachin. But Evil-Merodach

reigned but two years, and came to the throne B.C. 561. Hence this portion must have been written after B.C. 560, which date is twenty-eight years after the Captivity, B.C. 588, and twenty-four years before the decree of Cyrus for the return of the Jews, B.C. 536.

It is very possible, therefore, and, from the full details given in 2K.xxv, not at all improbable, that this part of the story, and, perhaps, the account of the last two or three reigns, may have been written by an actual eye-witness, who had himself taken part in the proceedings, and shared in the sorrows, of the time.

CHAPTER IV.

THE LATER HISTORICAL BOOKS OF THE OLD TESTAMENT.

231. THE books of Chronicles, however, which, after giving a series of genealogical tables, go over much the same ground as the books of Samuel and Kings, and often in the very same words, were unquestionably written at a much later date. In fact, they are believed by many to contain, 1Ch.ix, a list of those, who returned to Jerusalem from Babylon after the Captivity.

The list is here nearly the same with those found in Ezra and Nehemiah, and contains those who returned to Jerusalem with Zerubbabel. But the list of Nehemiah is more ample, probably because it contains those who came *afterwards*, the object of the Sacred Writer here being to give the names of those who came *first*. BAGSTER'S *Comprehensive Bible*.

And so KUENEN concludes, p.293-295, where, however, he remarks as follows:—

The meaning of this document, 1Ch.ix.1-34, and its relation to Neh.xi.1, &c. belong to the most contested points of O.T. criticism. I hold with BERTHEAU that 1Ch.ix.4-17 contains another copy of the same document as that given in Neh.xi. 3-19,—that it refers, (according to the Chronicler's view, expressed in 1Ch.ix.1,3), to the time after the Captivity, and expressly to the days of Nehemiah, —that in 1Ch.ix.18, &c., the Chronicler himself speaks and treats of his own lifetime,—lastly, that v.33,34, are the '*subscript*' of the whole document, which, however, is not given in its *entirety* by the writer, as we gather from Neh.xi.

KUENEN then gives the reasons for his decision, which, however, do not appear to me altogether satisfactory.

232. It would rather seem that, in both passages, the writer — probably, one and the same, as KUENEN also believes — is attempting to give an account of the state of things in David's

time, and that the expression 'hitherto,' עַד הַכֹּהֵן, in 1Ch.ix.18, is used in the sense of 'up to this time, so long as it was possible for the Levites to minister,'—in other words, 'all along, down to the time of the Captivity.'

In support of the above conclusion, the following reasons may be adduced. But the point is of no consequence to our argument, and this discussion, though interesting to the critic, may be omitted by the general reader.

(i) What can be the meaning of the words in Neh.xi.24—'and Pethahiah... was at the king's hand in all matters concerning the people'—if they are supposed to refer to a time *after* the Captivity?

(ii) Again, we read in v.18,19, 'All the Levites in the Holy City were 284; moreover, the porters, Akkub, Talmon, and their brethren, that kept the gates, were 172;' whereas, just before, the Levites, who came back with Zerubbabel, are reckoned as 74 only, Neh.vii.43, (so Ezr.ii.40), or 222, with the singers, v.44, (202, Ezr.ii.41), while the porters were 138, v.45, (139, Ezr.ii.42.)

(iii) The 'porters' are called 'the children of Akkub,' 'the children of Talmon,' &c. Neh.vii.45, Ezr.ii.42; and it would seem that there existed porters named Akkub and Talmon in the days of Zerubbabel, Neh.xii.25; though it is not clear *at what gates* they could have been 'keeping ward' in those days, when there was no Temple. But since, in the passage last referred to, we read of 'Mattaniah, Bakbukiah, Obadiah, Meshullam, Talmon, and Akkub, porters, keeping the ward at the thresholds of the gates,' and no mention is here made of the other heads of the families of 'porters,' who are named in Neh.vii.45, Ezr.ii.42, where we read of 'the porters, the children of Shallum, the children of Ater, the children of Talmon, the children of Akkub, the children of Hatita, the children of Shobai,' it would rather seem that the 'Talmon' and 'Akkub' in the former passage, who lived in the days of Zerubbabel, and, perhaps, 'Meshullam' = 'Shallum, were descendants of those mentioned in the later passages, yet bearing the same name as their ancestors.

In short, it appears to me that the whole passage, 1Ch.ix.22-34, refers to the time of David, or, by a slight anachronism, perhaps, to that of Solomon, when the Tabernacle or Temple was standing, and the Levites were, or were believed by the Chronicler to be, in full activity. 'These were reckoned by their genealogy in villages, whom David and Samuel the Seer did ordain in their set office. So they and their children had the oversight of the gates of the House of Jehovah, the House of the Tabernacle, by wards. . . For these Levites, the four chief porters, [Shallum, Akkub, Talmon, Ahiman, — where Ahiman, *may* be another name for one of the three, Ater, Hatita, Shobai, in Neh.vii.45.] were in their set office, and were over the chambers and treasuries of the House of God. And they lodged round about the House of God — [could they have done this in Zerubbabel's time?] —

because the charge was upon them, and *the opening thereof every morning pertained to them*, &c. &c.' 1Ch.ix.22, &c.

Further, in 1Ch.ix.34 we read, 'These dwelt at Jerusalem;' and then immediately follows, v.35, 'And in Gibeon dwelt the father of Gibeon, Jehiel,' who is then described as an ancestor of *Saul*. Thus it would seem that the Chronicler is speaking of *very ancient times*, when Jerusalem and Gibeon were *first* peopled, not of the second peopling after the Captivity.

It is true, we read in v.3 that 'in Jerusalem dwelt of the children of *Ephraim* and *Manasseh*, &c.' But there may have been some of these tribes in David's time, when he was king over 'all Israel,'—since, according to the Chronicler, 1Ch.xii.30,31, 38,800 of them came to David to Hebron, to make him king,—who afterwards, (in the Chronicler's view, at all events,) went to settle with the king at Jerusalem, when he made it his seat of government.

The expression, 'children of Solomon's servants,' Neh.xi.3, may have been used by an anachronism, to denote the *menial servants* of all kinds, whom the Chronicler regarded as attached to the Tabernacle in the time of David, such as those, the Nethinims or Gibeonites, whom Solomon gave to be bondservants, 'hewers of wood and drawers of water,' to the Temple, 1K.ix.20,21, 2Ch.viii.7,8.

And the statement quoted above from 1Ch.ix.22, 'These were reckoned by their genealogy in villages, whom David and Samuel the Seer did ordain in their set office,' seems to imply that the writer is referring to the time of David. Of the twenty-four names of the chief men of the Levites in David's time, recorded in 1Ch.xxiv.7-18, we seem to have Jehoiairib and Jedaiah, v.7, and Jachin, v.17, repeated in 1Ch.ix.10, and Maaziah, v.18 in 1Ch.ix.12(Maasiai).

233. The above, however, as has been said, is but a secondary question. But we may arrive at some certain conclusions, as to the time at which the books of Chronicles were written, from the following considerations.

(i) In 1Ch.iii.17-21 we have the following genealogy, Jecooniah, Assir, Pedaiah, Zerubbabel, Hananiah, Pelatiah; so that this book was written *after the birth of Zerubbabel's grandson*, and Zerubbabel was the leader of the expedition, which returned to Jerusalem after the decree of Cyrus, B.C. 536.

(ii) Again in 1Ch.xxix.7 we find the *Persian* coin, Daric, referred to familiarly, as if it had been long in use among the Jews. They 'gave for the service of the House of God five thousand talents and ten thousand drams,' (darics, דַּרְכִּיָּם). This coin, however, could not have been freely employed among

the Jews till some time after its first introduction, which is supposed to have been in the reign of Darius Hystaspes, B.C. 521-486. It appears, therefore, that the Jews must have been for some time under Persian government, before these books could have been written.

234. Hence there are many who ascribe the composition of the Chronicles to Ezra, who arrived at Jerusalem B.C. 456. Thus TOMLINE writes:—

The books of Chronicles are generally, and with much probability, attributed to Ezra, whose book, which bears his name, is written with a similar style of expression, and appears to be a continuation of them.

Rather, as we have said before, the books of Chronicles are probably due to the same hand, which wrote the books of Ezra and Nehemiah. And the writer, from the special interest which he shows on all matters which concern the Levites, and from the great length at which he gives the genealogies of the Priestly and Levitical families, and, especially, of the Levitical *singers* of the time of David, was, in all probability, himself a Priest or Levite,—it would rather seem, a Levite *chorister*,*—who lived *after the time of Nehemiah*, B.C. 409, or even, it may be, so late (237) as about B.C. 332. We will suppose him to have lived about B.C. 400, that is, nearly 200 years after the Captivity, and more than 650 years after the beginning of David's reign; and he wrote certainly, as we shall hereafter have occasion to remark, very decidedly from a Levitical point of view.

235. It is possible, indeed, that he may have lived in a still later age. For in 1Ch.iii.21-24, after the mention of the grandsons of Zerubbabel, we read 'the

* The Chronicler treats of the Levitical *choristers* and *doorkeepers*, in the following passages, 1Ch.vi.16, &c. ix.14-29, xv.16-24, 27, 28, xvi.4-42, xxiii.5, xxv, xxvi.1, 12-19, 2Ch.v.12, &c. vii.6, viii.14, xx.19, 21, xxiii.4, 13, 18, &c. xxix.25-28, 30, xxx.21, &c. xxxi.2, 11-18, xxxiv.12, 13, xxxv.15. This array of passages indicates his partiality for these bodies, and (as an examination of them will show) especially for the former.

sons of Rephaiah, the sons of Arnan, the sons of Obadiah, the sons of Shecaniah,' and then Shecaniah's descendants are given for *four* generations.

The question now is, with whom was this Shecaniah contemporary? KUENEN writes, p.292:—

'The genealogy of David's descendants, according to the most probable opinion, is carried on to the *sixth* generation after Zerubbabel. From these phenomena it appears that the writer *may* have lived at the earliest in the *fourth* century before our era: they do not, however, forbid us to place him at a still lower date.'

This view seems to be confirmed by the fact that, in Ezr.viii.2, HATTUSH is mentioned, as one of the 'sons of David,' who went up with Zerubbabel to Jerusalem, B.C. 456. And in the passage of Chronicles now before us, 1Ch.iii.22, we have among the descendants of Zerubbabel, i.e. among 'the sons of David,' HATTUSH, the grandson of Shecaniah, and brother of that Neariah, whose grandsons are given as the last of the genealogy of Shecaniah's descendants above referred to, — probably, because they were living, (though, it may be, only as young children,) at the time when the author wrote, who in that case must have lived after B.C. 400.

Some, however, maintain that, in v.21, 'the sons of Rephaiah, &c.' denote certain Davidic families, which the writer could not more closely connect with those before named, but which may have been contemporary with Zerubbabel, or even with men of earlier generations. But, as KUENEN observes, p.293, the whole genealogy v.10–21(a), 22–24, is consecutive: why, then, should we suppose it to be otherwise only in the latter part of v.21?

The LXX read everywhere in v.21, בְּנֵי 'his son,' instead of בָּנָי 'sons of;' and so ZUNZ deduces that the genealogy is given down to 270 B.C. Others assume that v.21 is interpolated or corrupt.

236. For our present purpose, however, it is sufficient to observe, as above noted (235), that the author of the book of Chronicles must have been, to all appearance, a *Priest* or *Levite*, who wrote about B.C. 400, nearly *two hundred years after the Captivity*, B.C. 588, and *six hundred and fifty years after David came to the throne*, B.C. 1055.

This must be borne in mind, when we come to consider the peculiarities of this book, and the points in which the narrative differs from, and often contradicts, the facts recorded in the books of Samuel and Kings. We have already had occasion to point out some of its inaccuracies; and we shall see, as we proceed, further reason for believing that the Chronicler's statements, when not supported by other evidence, are *not at all to be relied on*.

237. The books of Ezra and Nehemiah cannot, of course, have been written till after the transactions in which these eminent persons took so active a part. Ezra arrived at Jerusalem B.C. 456, and Nehemiah's last act of reformation was in B.C. 409. But in Neh.xii.11 we have given the genealogy of Jaddua, who was High-Priest in Alexander's time, B.C. 332.

The book of Esther refers to events in the reign of Ahasuerus, supposed by some to have been the same Artaxerxes by whom Ezra was sent to Jerusalem, but more probably his father Xerxes, who reigned in Persia from B.C. 486 to B.C. 465, from which we see the *earliest* date at which this book could have been written.

CHAPTER V.

SIGNS OF LATER DATE IN THE PENTATEUCH.

238. RETURNING now to the consideration of the Pentateuch, we have already seen reason to conclude that the account of the Exodus, generally, as there narrated, could not have been written by Moses, or by any one of his contemporaries. The following instances will tend still further to confirm the above conclusion, by showing, as we might expect, that the *Pentateuch*, as a whole, taking with it also the book of Joshua, was written at a much later date than the age of Moses and the Exodus.

239. (i) In E.xxx.13, xxxviii.24,25,26, as already remarked, we have mention made of a shekel 'after the shekel of the Sanctuary,' before there was, according to the story, any Sanctuary in existence. This is clearly an oversight,—as is also the command to sacrifice 'turtle-doves or young pigeons' in L.xiv.22, *with express reference to their life in the wilderness*,—arising from a writer in a later age employing inadvertently an expression common in his own days, and forgetting the circumstances of the times which he is describing.

These passages show decisively the unreal character of the story, since in the first and last of them the phrases in question are put into the mouth of Jehovah Himself. The story, therefore, could not have been written by Moses, or by one of his age, unless it be supposed that *such* a writer could be guilty

of a deliberate intention to deceive. But it is quite conceivable that a pious writer of later days, (when the Tabernacle or the Temple was standing,) might have inserted such passages in a narrative already existing, which had been composed as a work of imagination, in the attempt to reproduce, from the floating legends of the time, the early history of the Hebrew tribes, for the instruction of an ignorant people.

240. (ii) *And Jehovah turned a mighty strong west-wind, which took away the locusts, and cast them into the Red Sea.* E.x.19.

For *west-wind* the original Hebrew of this passage has *wind of the sea*, that is, of course, the *Mediterranean Sea*, from which westerly winds blew over the land of *Canaan*, but not over *Egypt*. This expression, obviously, could not have been familiarly used in this way, till some time after the people were settled in the land of *Canaan*, when they would naturally employ the phrases, 'wind of the sea,' 'seaward,' to express 'west-wind,' 'westward,' 1 K.vii.25, 1 Ch.ix.24, 2 Ch.iv.4, though they had also other ways of expressing the west, Jo.xxiii.4, 1 Ch.xii.15, Is.xlv.6. It is evident that neither Moses, nor one of his age, could have *invented* this form of expression, either while wandering in the wilderness, or even when, in the last year, according to the story, they had reached the borders of the promised land, and the Mediterranean lay then actually to the west of their position. Still less could he have used the phrase 'wind of the sea' to express a *westerly* wind, with reference to an event occurring in the land of *Egypt*, where the Mediterranean lay to the *north*, and the Red Sea to the *east*. And the same expression occurs in many other places of the Pentateuch, as G.xii.8, xiii.14, xxviii.14, E.xxvi.22,27, xxvii.12, xxxvi.27,32, N.ii.18, iii.23, xi.31, xxxiv.6, xxxv.5, D.i.7, iii.27, xxxiii.23.

241. It may, perhaps, be said that the Hebrews retained their

own language, and their old forms of expression, after they went down to Egypt, and so used mechanically, as it were, the word 'sea' for 'west,' though so inappropriate. If this were the *only* difficulty to be met, such an explanation might be admitted. As it is, the phenomenon in question is but one of many like phenomena, as *e.g.* that in G.xli.6 the *east*-wind is spoken of as a *parching* wind, which, as GESENIUS observes,—

it certainly is in *Palestine*, but not in Egypt, whence the LXX in that place write *νότος*, 'south-west wind,' instead of *εἰσπος*, 'east-wind,'—

and is very strongly suggestive of a later date of composition, for those parts, at least, of the Mosaic narrative in which it occurs.

242. (iii) *Thou shalt put the blessing upon Mount Gerizim, and the curse upon Mount Ebal. Are they not on the other side Jordan, by the way where the sun goeth down in the land of the Canaanites, which dwell in the campaign over against Gilgal, beside the plains of Moreh?* D.xi.29,30.

These words are attributed to Moses. It must seem strange, however, that Moses, who had never been in the land of Canaan, should know all these places, and be able to describe them so accurately. But it is still more strange that he should know the name *Gilgal*, which, according to the book of Joshua, *was not given to the place* till the people had been circumcised after entering the land of Canaan. 'And Jehovah said unto Joshua, This day have I rolled away the reproach of Egypt from off you. Wherefore the name of the place is called Gilgal unto this day.' Jo.v.9.

It is plain that the text in Deuteronomy was written at a later age, when these places and their names were familiarly known.

243. (iv) *And pursued them unto Dan.* G.xiv.14.

Jehovah showed him (Moses) all the land of Gilead unto Dan. D.xxxiv.1.

But the place was not named Dan till long after the time of Moses. For we read, Jo.xix.47, 'The coasts of the children of Dan went out too little for them. Therefore the children of Dan went up to fight against Leshem, and took it, and smote it with the edge of the sword, and possessed it, and dwelt therein, and *called Leshem, Dan, after the name of Dan, their father.*'

Further, in Ju.xviii, we have the whole transaction detailed at length. And at the end of it it is added, v.29, 'And they called the name of the city, Dan, after the name of Dan their father; howbeit, the name of the city was Laish at the first.' Now, as we are told in v.1 of this chapter, that these events took place when 'there was no king in Israel,' and 'every man did that which was right in his own eyes,' xxi.25, they must have occurred, not only after the death of Moses, but after the death of Joshua. Hence the book of Joshua, of which the chapter, xix, from which the above quotation is made, is an integral portion, could not have been written by Joshua.

A fortiori, the narratives in Genesis and Deuteronomy, where references are made to this place, and where the name, Dan, occurs, not as the mere modern representative of an older name, (as 'Bela, which is Zoar,' 'the vale of Siddim, which is the Salt Sea,' &c. G.xiv.2,3,)—in which case it might have been explained as being possibly a note, inserted by a later writer—but as a substantial part of the very body of the story, cannot have been written by Moses, or by any contemporary of Moses.

244. KURTZ admits the force of this argument, and says, iii. p.522 :

In i.p.216 I adopted HENGSTENBERG's explanation that the Dan of G.xiv.14 and D.xxxiv.1 was the same as the Dan-Jaan of 2S.xxiv.6, and denoted a very different place from the ancient Laish. But a closer examination has convinced me that the

very same Dan is alluded to in the Pentateuch and 2 Samuel, as in Jo.xix.47 and Ju.xviii.29.

And so writes KUENEN, *p.25* :—

HENGSTENBERG, in fact, tries to maintain that the Dan here named is not the same as the place which is usually so called, but on the contrary agrees with the place which is named, not Dan, but Dan-Jaan. It is plain, however, that by Dan-Jaan in 2S.xxiv.6, as the whole context shows, is meant the usual northern Dan, whatever meaning may be attached to the distinctive 'Jaan.'

RAWLINSON, *Aids to Faith*, *p.246*, can only say with HENGSTENBERG —

The Dan intended may be Dan-Jaan, and not Laish.

245. (v) *And these are the kings that reigned in the land of Edom, before there reigned any king over the children of Israel.* G.xxxvi.31.

The phrase, 'before there reigned any king over the children of Israel,' is here used in such a way as to imply that *one* king, at least, had reigned, or was reigning, over 'the children of Israel,'—that is, apparently, not over one of the separate kingdoms of Judah or Israel, but over the *united people*,—at the time when it was written. In other words, it could not have been written *before* the time of SAMUEL.

HENGSTENBERG believes that here is a reference to G.xvii.16, xxxv.11, where Abraham and Jacob receive the promise that kings shall come out of them; according to him the text says, 'while that promise is still unfulfilled, Edom has already had kings.' But one feels that such a genealogical list is a most unsuitable place for such a fine reference; and besides, in the passages quoted, it is not said that Israel shall be governed by kings, but that Abraham and Jacob should have kings among their descendants, which, as regards Abraham, was actually fulfilled in the existence of the kings of Edom themselves. KUENEN, *p.27*.

The fact is that HENGSTENBERG'S meaning *cannot* honestly be got out of the words of the text.

246. RAWLINSON writes on this point, *Aids to Faith*, *p.247* :—

The eight kings of Edom may possibly be a dynasty of monarchs intervening between Esau and Moses, the last of the eight being Moses' contemporary, as conjectured by HÄVERNICK. The remarkable expression, 'These are the kings

that reigned in the land of Edom *before there reigned any king over the children of Israel*,' may be understood *prophetically*. Moses may have intended in the passage to mark his full belief in the promises made by God to Abraham and Jacob, that 'kings should come out of their loins,' a belief which he elsewhere expresses very confidently, D.xvii.14-20.

- There is no really valid or insuperable objection to any of these explanations, which may not strike us as clever or dexterous, yet which may be true, nevertheless. Or the right explanation may be the more commonly received one,—that these words, phrases, and passages, together with a few others similar to them, are later additions to the text, either adopted into it upon an authoritative revision, such as that ascribed to Ezra, or, perhaps, accidentally introduced through the mistakes of copyists, who brought into the text what had been previously added, by way of exegesis, in the margin. *Such additions constantly occur in the case of classical writers*; and there is no reason to suppose that a special Providence would interfere to prevent their occurrence in the Sacred Volume.

The soberminded in every age have allowed that the written Word, as it has come down to us, has these slight imperfections, which no more interfere with its value than the spots on the sun detract from his brightness, or than a few marred and stunted forms destroy the harmony and beauty of Nature.

247. The above is a specimen of the loose, superficial replies, by which such difficulties as these are too often set aside, as unworthy of closer consideration, by men from whose ability and general love of truth we might have expected better things.

Ans. (i) In no case of any *classical writer* would the conjecture of interpolations be allowed, to such an extent as would be necessary in order to get rid of these anachronisms in the Pentateuch.

(ii) By those, who would maintain at all cost the authenticity and credibility of the Pentateuch, of course something like the above *must* be said. But it is difficult to see how either of the above 'reconciling' processes can be seriously believed to apply to some of the difficulties here noticed, as (i), (ii), (iv).

(iii) The proposal, to understand such words as these *prophetically*, is, in fact, only an euphemism for declining to understand them at all in their plain, literal, meaning, and for substituting something else for them.

(iv) But these difficulties, after all, are by us regarded as only of secondary importance. They are not those on which we rest the *stress* of our argument. Being satisfied, on other sure grounds, as set forth in Part I, that the story of the Pentateuch has no claim to be regarded as historically true, much less as divinely infallible, we are not obliged to have recourse to such suppositions as the above, to escape from the conclusions, to which we should certainly be led, if we were discussing a 'classical,' and not a 'sacred,' writer.

248. (vi) *Beforetime in Israel, when a man went to inquire of God, thus he spake, 'Come and let us go to the Seer'; for he, that is now called a Prophet (נָבִי, Nabi), was beforetime called a Seer (רוֹעֵה, Roeh). 1S.ix.9.*

This being the case, it is remarkable that, throughout the Pentateuch and the books of Joshua and Judges, the word *Roeh* is never once used, but always *Nabi*. From this it follows that those portions of these books, which contain this later word, as G.xx.7, E.vii.1, xv.20, N.xi.29, xii.6, D.xiii.1,3,5, xviii.15,18, 20,22, xxxiv.10, Ju.iv.4,vi.8, can hardly have been written before the days of Samuel. In that age the word *Nabi* may have been known, and employed by some, though *Roeh* was, it seems, the word in popular use. But in still older times, as those of Moses and Joshua, we should expect to find *Roeh* generally employed, and certainly *not Nabi exclusively*. Nay, in 2S.xv.27, we read, 'The king said also unto Zadok the Priest, Art not thou a Seer (*Roeh*)?' Hence the word *Roeh* was in use, at all events, till the latter part of David's reign, though, it would seem, no longer *exclusively*, as in the older time, since *Nabi* was the word now commonly employed.

In those days also or, rather, in the days of the *writer* of David's history, and in still later times, another word, חֹזֶה, *Khozeh*, was in use for Seer, 2S.xxiv.11, 2K.xvii.13, and frequently in the Chronicles. We find both words in Is.xxx.10,—'which say to the Seers (רוֹאִים, *Roim*), See not, and to the Prophets (חֹזִים, *Khozim*), Prophesy not?' And in 2Ch.xvi.7 we read of Hanani the Seer (*Roeh*) in the time of Asa. In 1 Ch.xxix.29, the three terms are employed in one verse, where we read of 'the book of Samuel the Seer (*Roeh*), and the book of Nathan the Prophet (*Nabi*), and the book of Gad the Seer (*Khozeh*).'

249. (vii) *And the sun stood still, and the moon stayed, until the people had avenged themselves upon their enemies. Is not this written in the book of Jasher? Jo.x.13.*

First, it is inconceivable that, if Joshua really wrote this book, he should have referred for the details of such an extraordinary miracle, in which he himself was primarily and personally concerned, to another book, as the book of Jasher.

But in 2S.i.18 we read, 'Also he (David) bade them teach the children of Judah the use of the bow, (or 'teach it,' that is, the song in question, '*thoroughly* to the children of Israel,' EWALD). Behold, it is written in the *book of Jasher*.'

Here, then, we have a fact *in the life of David* recorded in this same 'book of Jasher.' The natural inference is, that this 'book of Jasher,'—which probably means the 'book of the righteous,' that is, of Israel or Jeshurun, the righteous one, the 'righteous people, that keepeth the truth,' and contained a number of notable passages in their history,—was written not earlier than the time of DAVID, and the above passage in the book of Joshua was written, of course, after that.

250. (viii) *For Arnon is the border of Moab, between Moab and the Amorites; wherefore it is said in the Book of the Wars of Jehovah,*

'What He did in the Red Sea,
And in the brooks of Arnon,
And at the stream of the brooks,
That goeth down to the dwelling of Ar,
And lieth upon the border of Moab.' N.xxi.13-15.

Clearly this passage could not have been written by Moses or by one of his contemporaries. A writer of that age would not have stated in this way a fact, 'Arnon is the border of Moab, between Moab and the Amorites,' which must have been notorious to those for whom he was writing. Nor would he have used this statement, to illustrate the words of a song, which could only by any possibility have just been composed, since it refers to events which had happened, according to the story, *only a week or so before* (173). In fact, the language of

the song itself implies that the transactions at the 'brooks of Árnon,' as well as at the Red Sea, were *long past*. And, consequently, the 'Book of the Wars of Jehovah,' which contained this song, must have been written long after the days of Moses.

251. (ix) *See, he hath brought in an Hebrew unto us to mock us.* G.xxxix.14.

The Hebrew servant, which thou hast brought unto us. G.xxxix.17.

For indeed I was stolen away out of the land of the Hebrews. G.xl.15.

There was with us a young man, an Hebrew. G.xli.12.

In the above passages, the word 'Hebrew' is used in a familiar way, as if it were a well-known appellation of a *whole people*,—well-known even in Egypt—nay, as if the land of Canaan could already be spoken of by Joseph, as the 'land of the Hebrews,' so as to be readily understood by the Egyptians with whom he was speaking. It seems plain that here also expressions, which were current in a later age, have been allowed inadvertently to slip into the narrative.

252. (x) So also, in Deuteronomy, transactions, in which Moses himself was concerned, are detailed at full length, as by one referring to events *long past*, when, according to the story, only a very short time could by any possibility have elapsed since they took place, and, therefore, all the circumstances must have been quite fresh in the memory of those, to whom Moses is supposed to be speaking. See D.i,ii,iii, and especially such a passage as the following.

And we took all his cities at that time; there was not a city, which we took not from them, threescore cities, all the region of Argob, the kingdom of Og in Bashan. All these cities were fenced with high walls, gates, and bars, beside *unwalled towns*, a great many. And we utterly destroyed them, as we did unto Sihon, king of Heshbon, utterly destroying the men, women, and children, of every city.

But all the cattle, and the spoil of the cities, we took to ourselves. And we took at that time, out of the hand of the two kings of the Amorites, the land that was on this side [on the other side] Jordan, from the river of Arnon unto Mount Hermon,—which Hermon the Sidonians call Sirion, and the Amorites call it Shenir,—all the cities of the plain, and all Gilead, and all Bashan, unto Salchah and Edrei, cities of the kingdom of Og in Bashan. For only Og, king of Bashan, remained of the remnant of the giants; behold, his bedstead was a bedstead of iron; *is it not in Rabbath of the children of Ammon?* nine cubits was the length thereof, and four cubits the breadth of it, after the cubit of a man. D.iii.4–11.

Now we have already seen (173) that only a week or two at the outside could possibly have elapsed since the time when these transactions, according to the story, took place. Even if they had happened within the last few years, Moses could hardly have spoken of them as events of a bygone time in this way. But, with an interval only of a few days, when they had hardly yet breathed from the conflict, it is absolutely impossible that he should have thus addressed them.

253. Thus it is obvious that large portions of the Pentateuch, including the account of the Exodus itself, (see E.x.19, where the word ‘sea’ is used for ‘west’), must have been composed long after the times of Moses and Joshua.

Further, it cannot be supposed that any later writers would have presumed to mix up, *without distinction*, large and important sections of history of their own composition, with writings so venerable and sacred, as any must have been, which had been handed down from the time of Moses, and were really *believed* to have been written by his hand, and, chiefly, *from the very mouth of Jehovah Himself*. It is inconceivable that any pious Israelite, much less a Prophet or Priest, would have dared to commit an act of such profanity, under any circumstances. But, certainly, he could not have done so, without distinguishing in some way the Divine words, as written down by Moses, from his own.

254. There is not, however, a single instance of any such

distinction being drawn throughout the books of Exodus, Leviticus,* and Numbers; though in one or two places of Deuteronomy, xxxi.30, xxxiii.1, xxxiv, the expressions imply that a later writer is professedly setting forth the words or acts of Moses. And many of the signs of a later date, which we have just been considering, occur in passages, which must, if any, have been written by Moses himself, recording the words which Jehovah had spoken to him. We are compelled, therefore, it would seem, to the conclusion, that the later writer or writers did *not* believe in the unspeakably sacred character of any older documents, which may have come down to them,—that they did *not* receive them, as really written by the hand of Moses, and conveying, on his own authority, the astonishing facts of his awful communion with God.

255. While, therefore, it is possible, as far as we know at present, that laws, songs, &c., may be included in the Pentateuch, which are of very ancient date, and may have even been handed down from the times of Moses, we can scarcely suppose that they were written by his hand, any more than we can believe that the whole story of the Exodus, containing, as we have seen, such flagrant contradictions, could have had Moses for its author. In short, without anticipating here the result of closer enquiry, observing only that the instances above adduced occur in so many different places as to cover, so to speak, the whole ground of the Mosaic story, we are warranted already in asserting that the Pentateuch and book of Joshua, *generally*, must have been composed in a later age than that of Moses and Joshua, and some parts of them, at all events, not earlier than the time of Samuel (245) or of David (249). °

CHAPTER VI.

ADDITIONAL SIGNS OF LATER DATE IN THE PENTATEUCH.

256. BESIDES those already produced, however, there are a number of minor indications, all pointing to the same result; though, perhaps, if they stood alone, an ingenious criticism might dispose of some of them, by suggesting that glosses of later writers may have crept in by accident, or may, possibly, have been designedly interpolated in the original text.

257. We may notice, for instance, the frequent occurrence of the expression 'unto this day,' in places where it could have had no meaning, unless the 'day' referred to was considerably later than the time of Moses or Joshua.

'Jair, the son of Manasseh, took all the country of Argob unto the coasts of Geshuri and Maachathi, and called them after his own name Bashan-Havoth-Jair, *unto this day.*' D.iii.14.

But this took place after the conquest of Bashan, v.13, and, therefore, could only have happened (173) a few days before the death of Moses.

'No man knoweth of his (Moses's) sepulchre *unto this day.*' D.xxxiv.6.

'And Joshua set up twelve stones in the midst of Jordan, in the place where the feet of the Priests, which bare the Ark of the Covenant, stood; and *they are there unto this day.*' Jo.iv.9.

'Wherefore the name of the place is called Gilgal *unto this day.*' Jo.v.9.

'And they raised over him a great heap of stones *unto this day.* . . Wherefore the name of that place was called the valley of Achor, *unto this day.*' Jo.vii.26.

'And Joshua burnt Ai, and made it a heap for ever, even a desolation *unto this day.*' Jo.viii.28. So viii.29,x.27.

'And Joshua made them that day hewers of wood and drawers of water for the Congregation, and for the Altar of Jehovah, *even unto this day, in the place which He should choose.*' Jo.ix.27.

‘Nevertheless, the children of Israel expelled not the Geshurites nor the Maachathites; but the Geshurites and the Maachathites dwell among the Israelites *unto this day.*’ Jo.xiii.13. So xv.63, xvi.10.

‘Hebron, therefore, became the inheritance of Caleb, the son of Jephunneh, the Kenezite, *unto this day.*’ Jo.xiv.14.

There are other passages in the Pentateuch, in which the phrase ‘unto this day’ occurs, as G.xix.37,38, xxii.14, xxvi.33, xxxii.32, xxxv.20, xlvii.26, D.ii.22, x.8, where, however, the phrase might have been used even by a writer of the age of Moses, as the events referred to were either ancient in his days, or, in the case of D.x.8, (which refers to the separation of the Levites for religious offices,) had taken place, according to the story, nearly forty years before.

258. Again, such expressions as the following indicate a later date than that of Moses.

‘And the Canaanite *was then in the land.*’ G.xii.6.

‘And the Canaanite and Perizzite *dwelt then in the land.*’ G.xiii.7.

These words obviously imply that, at the time when they were written, the Canaanite was no longer dwelling in the land, as its owner and lord. The Hebrew word *אז*, here translated ‘then,’ cannot possibly be rendered ‘already,’ as some have supposed.

Upon the above passages, BLEEK, who maintains that a great many of the laws in the Pentateuch are not only of Mosaic origin, but were actually written down in the wilderness, remarks as follows (*Einkl. in das A. T.* p.202):—

Some have supposed that a contrast is here meant to an *earlier* time, when the Canaanites were *not yet* in the land, either because men generally had not yet spread themselves over the earth, or, at all events, because the Canaanites had not yet taken up their position, it being assumed that formerly they had their dwelling in another land. HENGSTENBERG explains it otherwise; he believes that it refers simply to the promise, which God gave to Abraham, v.7, that He would give this land to his seed, so that here we have merely the contrast between the actual present, and the promised future, state of things. But both these explanations are unnatural, and the last worse than the first. A writer in the Mosaic age, even

if he had before his eyes this Divine promise, about the future possession of the land by the Israelites, would have had no inducement at all to introduce here this remark in such a way, at a time when this state of things, viz. that the Canaanites lived in the land, still continued, and must have been perfectly well known to all Israel. The remark is only natural, if made at a time, *when that state of things no longer existed*, that is, *after* the possession of the land by the Israelites.

259. 'And when the inhabitants of the land, the Canaanites, saw the mourning in the floor of Atad, they said, This is a grievous mourning to the Egyptians. Wherefore the name of it was called Abel-Mizraim, which is *beyond Jordan*.' G.i.11.

The story seems to intimate that Joseph came with the funeral train of his father to the 'threshing-floor of Atad, which is beyond Jordan,' v.10, 'and there they mourned with a great and very sore lamentation, and he made a mourning for his father for seven days;' after which, Joseph and his brethren 'carried into the land of Canaan' the corpse of their father, and buried it 'in the cave of the field of Machpelah,' while the Egyptians still remained on the other side of the river. If so, the use of the phrase 'beyond Jordan' would imply a writer who lived in the land of Canaan. JEROME, however, supposes that the Egyptians crossed the river, and places Abel-Mizraim at Beth-hoglah, close to Jericho.

But the remark above made holds good, at all events, of the following passages, in which the same word, בְּעֵבֶר, 'beyond,' 'on the other side,' occurs.

'These be the words, which Moses spake unto all Israel *on the other side* (בְּעֵבֶר, the E. V. has, erroneously, 'on this side') *Jordan*, in the wilderness.' D.i.1.

'*On the other side Jordan*, in the land of Moab, began Moses to declare this Law.' D.i.5.

260. On this point BLEEK writes as follows, p.205:—

These words could only have been written by one who found himself on *this side* Jordan, and, therefore, after the death of Moses and the possession of the land of Canaan. Some translate the expression 'on this side Jordan;' but this the usage of the Hebrew tongue will not allow. One might rather say that the above

formula was a *standing designation* for the country *east* of Jordan, which might be used in this sense without any regard to the position of the writer. So it is often employed in later times. But it is most probable that this phrase first formed itself among the Hebrews after they were settled in Canaan, and the greater part of them on the west of Jordan. In that case, Moses, or a writer of his age, would not have expressed himself about it in this way, so long as he himself was on the eastern bank. In Deuteronomy this use of the expression is the less likely, since frequently, in the words of Moses, the phrase is used distinctly for the land of Canaan, *west* of Jordan, that is, on the *other* side from the stand-point of the speaker, iii.20,25, xi.30; although it also stands in a speech of Moses for the *eastern* side, iii.8, and so too in the history itself, iv.41,46,47,49. If, however, Moses himself had been the writer, who found himself on the eastern side, he would certainly only have used the expression of the land *west* of Jordan, the land of Canaan.

So the expression 'Transalpine Gaul' might have been used by a Roman writer, when that term had become the recognised description of that part of Gaul, which lay *on the other side* of the Alps with reference to the city of Rome, whether he lived on the North, or the South, of the Alps. But it could not have been so used, by a *person living North of the Alps*, for the *country lying North of the Alps*, until the phrase had come into common use, and, *à fortiori*, not until Rome itself had been built, to which the reference is made.

261. 'And the children of Israel did eat manna forty years, until they came to a land inhabited; they did eat manna, *until they came unto the borders of the land of Canaan.*' E.xvi.35.

On this passage SCOTT remarks as follows:—

As Moses lived till a great part of the fortieth year was past, when Israel was encamped on the plains of Moab, there is no reason to say that this verse was added *after his decease*.

But, surely, this verse could not have been written till after they had ceased eating manna, 'on the morrow after they had eaten of the old corn of the land.' Jo.v.12. Nor could it have been written until the Israelites were *within* the Canaanite boundary; since גְּבֻלָּה, 'border,' which is here used, as in G.xxiii.9 and about ninety other passages, never means *extra terminum*, but always *intra terminum*.

262. KALISCH appears to have adopted the opinion that Moses was able to make the statement from supernatural information, and writes as follows, *Exod.p.225* :—

According to Jo.v.10-12, the manna ceased after the transit of the Israelites over Jordan, *subsequently to the death of Moses*, who could, therefore, have made that statement *only by Divine Inspiration*, (as ABARBANEL observes,) especially as Moses knew, according to N.xiv.33, that the Israelites would eat the manna for forty years.

HENGSTENBERG writes as follows,—

The country *beyond* Jordan presented at that time such abundant supplies of food, that the necessity for the manna altogether ceased. A continuance of the manna in a cultivated country would have been just as if the Israelites, when on the banks of Jordan, had been supplied with water from the rock. The Israelites would never have eaten it. They were tired of it in the desert. For what purpose bestow a gift, which the receivers would not make use of, and their disgust at which might be foreseen? *Mistakes as to Manna, Clarke's Theol. Libr. p.561.*

KURTZ, however, reminds HENGSTENBERG of Jo.v.10-12, as well as of the passage before us, wherein it is stated that they ate the manna forty years ‘until they came unto the borders of the *land of Canaan*,’ which expression, ‘land of Canaan,’ indicates the country to the *west* of Jordan.

263. ‘That the land spue not you out also, when ye defile it, *as it spued out the nations which were before you.*’ L.xviii.28.

This implies that the Canaanites were already exterminated, when these words were written.

264. ‘And, *while the children of Israel were in the wilderness*, they found a man that gathered sticks upon the sabbath-day.’ N.xv.32.

This, according to its natural interpretation, would seem to have been written when the people were no longer in the wilderness, that is, it could not have been written by Moses.

265. ‘The Horims also dwelt in Seir beforetime; but the children of Esau succeeded them, when they had destroyed them from before them, and dwelt in their stead; *as Israel did unto the land of his possession, which Jehovah gave unto them.*’ D.ii.12.

These words are a mere parenthetical interruption of the narrative. But, in the time of Moses, Israel had not done this unto the land of Canaan, which, surely, and not the country on the other side of the Jordan, is meant by the 'land of his possession.' SCOTT says:—

Israel had, at the time when Moses spake this, conquered Sihon and Og, and taken possession of their countries, as Edom had done to the Horims.

But, plainly, the country of Sihon and Og is not what is meant by the expression, 'the land of his possession, which Jehovah gave unto them;' for this is indicated distinctly as the land of Canaan in D.iv.1,—'Now, therefore, hearken, O Israel, that ye may live, and go in, and possess the land, which Jehovah the God of your fathers giveth you.'

266. Accordingly, BLEEK observes, p.205:—

This pretty plainly sets forth a time, when the Israelites were already in possession of the land, and had already driven out the former inhabitants, a time, consequently, after Moses. Very forced and unnatural is the supposition of ROSENMÜLLER and others, that the reference is to something which had even at that moment happened, 'as Israel now is doing unto the land of its possession,' and then to think of the tract of land on the other side Jordan, of which they had already possessed themselves.

HENGSTENBERG, however, p.240, maintains that the perfect נָעַץ, 'did,' in the above quotation, is a *prophetical* perfect, and so the phrase, we suppose, must be understood to mean, 'as Israel has done, in the mind of Jehovah.' And yet the other perfect in the same verse, 'and the Horims dwelt (יָשָׁבוּ) in Seir beforetime,' indicates an event actually past; and the very same perfect, נָעַץ, is used in exactly the same sense in v.22,29, and there plainly with reference to the past.

267. 'Which Hermon the Sidonians call Sirion, and the Amorites call it Shenir.' D.iii.9.

In David's time, and afterwards, the Sidonians were well-known to the people of Israel. But what could they have known of them in the days of Moses, that such a note as

this should have been inserted in the middle of a speech of the great lawgiver?

268. 'For only Og, king of Bashan, remained of the remnant of the giants; behold! his bedstead was a bedstead of iron; is it not in Rabbath of the children of Ammon? Nine cubits ($16\frac{1}{2}$ feet) was the length thereof, and four cubits ($7\frac{1}{4}$ feet) the breadth of it, after the cubit of a man.' D.iii.11.

KURTZ supposes that the king had his bedstead *designedly* made larger than necessary, in order that posterity might form a more magnificent idea of his stature.

But only a very short time, according to the story (173), could have elapsed since the conquest of Og. How, then, could his bedstead have been removed in that interval to Rabbath-Ammon? There was not one of his people left alive, D.iii.3, to bear off in safety this cumbrous relic of their lord. Or how could Moses, so soon after the event, have spoken of Og at all in such terms as these?

269. It may be said, indeed, that it was not captured by the Israelites with the other spoils of Og, but had been taken to Rabbath-Ammon *before* the death of Og,—perhaps, captured by the Ammonites in some former war, or, perhaps, sent by Og himself for preservation. The first of these suppositions, however, is hardly consistent with the fact that Og, at the time of his overthrow by the Israelites, is said to have had his 'three-score cities, all fenced with high walls, gates, and bars, beside unwall'd towns a great many,' D.iii.5; and, as to the second, it is very unlikely that an 'iron bed' of this kind should have been deemed by Og himself so valuable a treasure, as to have been sent to the Ammonites for safe-keeping on the approach of the Israelites. SCOTT observes,—

Either the Ammonites *seized* on it, or they *bought* it of the Israelites, and, carrying it to Rabbah, it was there preserved as a monument of his stature and of Israel's victory.

270. KURTZ writes on this point, iii.376:—

SPINOZA was of opinion that Og's bed is spoken of here, as something belonging to a very remote antiquity, and that the Israelites cannot have known anything about the bed until the time of David, when he captured Rabbath Ammon, 2S.xii.30. Following out the same idea, there have been several even of the supporters of the authenticity of the Pentateuch, (e.g. CALMET, DATHE, JAHN, ROSEN-MÜLLER,) who have pronounced the passage a gloss by a later hand. But there is really no ground for this. We are not *told* that the bed was not taken into the city of the Ammonites till after the death of its owner; and, if we were, we could imagine many things, which would show the possibility of this having been the case. The *most probable supposition*, however, appears to us to be, that the bed of Og was at Rabbah before the Israelites came into the neighbourhood at all, that is, during the lifetime of Og. It may be assumed as certain that the Terahite nations lived in a state of constant hostility to the Amorites. This being the case, it is not improbable that, in a war with Og, or after an invasion of the country and an attack upon his capital, the Ammonites may have carried off the celebrated bed of Og, and set it up in their capital as a trophy of victory.

Ans. We must point again to Og's 'three-score cities,' and must ask how Moses could have spoken of Og in such language as this within so very short an interval after his conquest. But SPINOZA considers that, in David's time, when he 'gathered all the people together, and went to Rabbah, and fought against it, and took it, and brought forth the spoil of the city in great abundance,' 2S.xii.29,30, such an 'iron bed' was found,—perhaps, of more moderate dimensions,—and ascribed by the traditions of the people to the Amorite king of old.

At the same time even HENGSTENBERG himself admits, (says KURTZ,) that 'remarks like these may have been appended by Moses himself at a later period, when he committed his address to writing; and therefore it is right to enclose the verse in brackets as DE WETTE has done.'

271. Again, names of places are often used familiarly, which could scarcely have been known to Moses, much less to the Israelites generally, at the time of the Exodus, some of which, indeed, are modern names, which, according to the story itself, did not even exist in the time of Moses.

'Then Abram removed his tent, and came and dwelt in the plain of Mamre, which is in Hebron.' G.xiii.18.

Yet in Jo.xiv.15, xv.13, we are informed that the name of this city, till its conquest by Caleb in the days of Joshua, was *Kirjath-Arba*. It is a mere evasion to say, as some have done, that the city had of old *both* names: the language is plain in Jo.xiv.15, 'The name of the city *before* was Kirjath-Arba.' Yet

as observed already, if this were the *only* difficulty to be explained, we might, perhaps, take refuge even in such a supposition. But, as it is, with so many indications of the later origin of the Mosaic books, we cannot doubt that this is another proof of the same.

272. The same remark applies to such passages as the following.

‘And he removed from thence unto a mountain on the east of Bethel, and pitched his tent, having Bethel on the west, and Hai on the east.’ G.xii.8.

The familiar use of the name Bethel in this passage, and in G.xiii.3, in the story of Abraham’s life,—a name which was not given to the place till Jacob’s day, G.xxviii.19, and which could hardly ever, if at all, have been in the mouth of Moses and the people of his time,—betrays the later hand of one, who wrote when the place was spoken of naturally by this name, as a well-known town.

‘And Lot lifted up his eyes, and beheld all the plain of Jordan, that it was well watered everywhere, even as the garden of Jehovah, like the land of Egypt, *as thou comest unto Zoar.*’ G.xiii.10.

This is supposed to have been written for the instruction, in the first instance, of the Hebrews in the wilderness. But what could they have known of the nature of the country in the land of Canaan, ‘as thou comest unto Zoar,’ G.xix.22? Or what could Moses himself have known of it?

273. Sometimes, the modern name of a town or place is given, as well as the ancient one.

‘And Sarah died in Kirjath-Arba; the same is Hebron in the land of Canaan.’ G.xxiii.2.

So ‘Ephrath, which is Bethlehem,’ G.xxxv.19, ‘Kirjath-Arba, which is Hebron,’ v.27.

So again, ‘Bela, which is Zoar,’ G.xiv.2, ‘the vale of Siddim, which is the Salt Sea,’ v.3, ‘En-Mishpat, which is

Kadesh,' v.7, 'the valley of Shaveh, which is the king's dale,' v.17.

274. The 'king,' who is referred to in the above expression, 'king's dale,' *may* have been Melchizedek, or some other of the ancient kings of Canaan. But it seems more probable that the expression points to king David, who was the first to make Jerusalem the seat of government for the children of Israel. And so we read, 2S.xviii.18, 'Absalom, in his lifetime, had taken and reared up for himself a pillar, which is in the *king's dale*.' He would be most likely to have done this near the royal city. Accordingly, JOSEPHUS writes, *Ant*.vii.10.3:—

Now Absalom had erected for himself a marble pillar in the king's dale, two furlongs distant from Jerusalem, which he named Absalom's Hand.

This also would accord with the statement that 'Melchizedek, king of *Salem*,' came out to the 'valley of Shaveh,' to meet Abraham. For it can scarcely be doubted that Salem here means Jerusalem, as in Ps.lxxvi.2, 'In Salem also is His Tabernacle.' And it is noticeable that the name *Melchizedek*, 'king of righteousness,' means the same as *Adonizedek*, 'lord of righteousness,' who is spoken of in Jo.x, as having been king of Jerusalem in Joshua's time. And so JOSEPHUS understands it, *Ant*.i.10.2. Canon STANLEY, however, *Sinai and Palestine*, p.250, supposes it to be 'the northern Salem mentioned in G.xxxiii.18, John iii.23.'

If our view be correct, then the use of the word Salem also, especially as it occurs in the substance of the main story, would indicate a writer living in later times; since the Canaanitish name of the city was Jebus, Jo.xviii.28, Ju.xix.10,11, and there can be little doubt that the name Jerusalem, 'possession of peace,' was first given to it by David, after its capture by him from the Jebusites. 2S.v.6–9.

275. 'Now an *omer* is a tenth part of an ephah.' E.xvi.36. These words plainly imply that, at the time when they were

written, the 'omer' had gone out of use, and was not likely to be known to the ordinary reader. In fact, this word 'omer,' עֹמֶר, is found nowhere else in the Bible as the name of a measure. The 'homer,' הֹמֶר, which contained ten ephahs, Ez.xlv.11, and, therefore, a hundred 'omers,' (as appears from the text above quoted,) was quite another vessel.

HENGSTENBERG, p.211-213, supposes that the 'omer' was not a *measure*, but a vessel of some kind, which everybody carried with him for the collection of the manna, and which, therefore, might be used as a measure. Still, if used as a measure, it must have been a vessel of a certain determinate magnitude; and, as KALISCH observes, *Exod.p.226*,—

Granted even that every Israelite was 'possessed of such an utensil, it is difficult to suppose that they were all of precisely the same size.

276. So, too, in Deuteronomy, there are little pieces of information given, about the ancient history of the land of Canaan, which we cannot conceive to have been spoken or written down by Moses, but must ascribe to the pen of a later archæologist.

'There are eleven days' journey from Horeb, by the way of Mount Seir, unto 'Kadesh-Barnea.' D.i.2.

Upon this SCOTT remarks:—

This seems to have been introduced to remind the Israelites that their own misconduct alone had occasioned their tedious wanderings; otherwise they might long ago have been settled in peaceable possession of Canaan, as in eleven days they might have marched from Horeb to the borders of the land. It does not appear that the march of Israel from Horeb to Kadesh-Barnea at first took up much time. N.x.12,13.'

One glance, however, at the connexion, in which this verse stands, will show that it cannot have been inserted for the reason assigned by SCOTT, but is simply a note of distance, which interrupts awkwardly the course of the narrative, and never certainly could have been introduced by Moses himself into the story.

277. Again we have the following notices of a similar kind.

‘And Jehovah said unto me, Distress not the Moabites, neither contend with them in battle. For I will not give thee of their land for a possession; because I have given Ar unto the children of Lot for a possession. *The Emims dwelt therein in times past, a people great, and many, and tall, as the Anakims; which also were accounted giants, as the Anakims; but the Moabites call them Emims. The Horims also dwelt in Scir beforetime; but the children of Esau succeeded them.*’ D.ii.9-12.

‘I will not give thee of the land of the children of Ammon any possession; because I have given it unto the children of Lot for a possession. *That also was accounted a land of giants; giants dwelt therein in old time; and the Ammonites called them Zamzummims, a people many, and great, and tall, as the Anakims; but Jehovah destroyed them before them; and they succeeded them, and dwelt in their stead; as He did to the children of Esau, which dwelt in Scir, when He destroyed the Horims from before them; and they succeeded them and dwelt in their stead, even unto this day: and the Avims, which dwelt in Hazerim, even unto Azzah, the Caphtorims, which came out of Caphtor, destroyed them, and dwelt in their stead.*’ D.ii.19-23.

278. Here again SCOTT says:—

These fragments of ancient history were introduced to encourage the Israelites. If the Lord destroyed these gigantic people before the posterity of Lot and of Esau—what cause had the posterity of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, his chosen servants and friends, to fear the Anakims or the Canaanites?—especially as Israel acted by commission from God, and had His promise as their security of success, and the pledge of it in His Presence, and the wonders which He had already wrought for them, and as they were the only nation of worshippers of the Lord, in the ordinances of His institution, which could be found on earth. ‘This is so often repeated, to possess the minds of the Israelites with a sense of God’s Providence, which rules everywhere, displacing one people, and settling another in their stead, and fixing their bounds also, which they shall not pass without his leave.’ PATRICK.

Again it will be plain to an unprejudiced reader that this is *not* the special reason, for which these notices of ancient times are introduced. They occur only as pieces of interesting information on the points in question, without a word to intimate that they are expressly meant for the encouragement of the people.

279. It is generally admitted that D.xxxiv, which relates the death and burial of Moses, must have been written by a

later hand. But there have not been wanting some, who have maintained the contrary.

JOSEPHUS, *Ant.* iv. 8. 48, and PHILO *De vit. Mos.* iii. 39, go so far as to ascribe the composition of this section also to Moses, who wrote it, they say, in a prophetic spirit; and these have been followed by many others. However, by far the greater number, who otherwise ascribe the whole Pentateuch to Moses, regard this chapter, as a later addition. Most earlier commentators were of the opinion that it was Joshua, who inserted it as a conclusion to the law-book after the death of Moses. But, that this section also could only have been written at a considerably later time, is shown at once by the expressions, v. 6, 'but no man knoweth of his sepulchre *unto this day*,' and v. 10, 'and there arose not a prophet since in Israel like *unto Moses*.'

280. But so, too, the 'blessing of Moses,' contained in D. xxxiii, bears on its very face unmistakable signs of having been inserted, at all events,—if not originally composed,—by a later writer. For we read, v. 1, 'This is the blessing, where-with *Moses, the man of God*, blessed the children of Israel *before his death*.' And the expressions here used, 'Moses, the man of God,' and 'before his death,' are sufficient to satisfy us, unless we have recourse to some forced interpretation, that this 'blessing,' even if originally composed and spoken by Moses, could not have been inserted by himself into the narrative.

281. Also such passages as the following could hardly have been written by Moses himself:—

'Moreover, the man Moses was very great in the land of Egypt, in the sight of Pharaoh's servants, and in the sight of his people.' E. xi. 3.

'Now the man Moses was very meek, above all the men which were upon the face of the earth.' N. xii. 3.

'These are that Aaron and Moses, to whom Jehovah said, Bring out the children of Israel from the land of Egypt according to their armies. These are they which spake to Pharaoh, king of Egypt, to bring out the children of Israel from Egypt: these are that Moses and Aaron.' E. vi. 26, 27.

'And, if ye have erred and not observed all these commandments, which Jehovah hath spoken unto Moses, even all that Jehovah hath commanded you by the hand of Moses, from the day that Jehovah commanded Moses, and henceforward among your generations,' &c. N. xv. 22, 23.

Such passages as the above give, surely, plain signs of having been written by some one who lived in an age after that of Moses. HENGSTENBERG, *p.*173-178, observes that the above laudations of Moses are in keeping with the context. This may be quite true, without its being therefore true that they were written by Moses. It would only tend to show that the context also was written in an age later than that of Moses.

CHAPTER VII.

WAS SAMUEL THE ELOHISTIC WRITER OF THE PENTATEUCH?

282. THUS in all these different ways we have a corroboration of the result, to which we had already arrived on quite other grounds, viz. that the greater portion of the Pentateuch, at all events,—if not, indeed, the *whole* of it, (a point which we shall consider more at length hereafter,)—must have been written at a time later than the age of Moses or Joshua.

283. But, if so, there is no one *mentioned* in the whole history, *before the time of Samuel*, who could be supposed to have written any part of it. We have no sign of any other great Prophet in that age, except Deborah, nor of any ‘School of the Prophets’ existing before his time. That Samuel *did* occupy himself with historical labours we are told expressly in 1Ch.xxix.29, —‘Now the acts of David the king, first and last, behold they are written in the Book of Samuel the Seer, and in the Book of Nathan the Prophet, and in the Book of Gad the Seer.’ This, it is true, is from the pen of the Chronicler, and, from the experience which we have already had of the inaccuracy of his data (113), we cannot rely upon his statements, when unsupported by other evidence. And even here, in point of fact, very little of David’s life, and none whatever of ‘the acts of David *as* king,’ could possibly have been written by Samuel, since he died three years after anointing David, and five years before David came to the throne of Israel.

284. **MOVERS**, however, supposes that the terms 'Book of Samuel,' 'Book of Nathan,' &c. may only be meant to apply to certain portions of the present books of Samuel, viz. those in which the respective Prophets play a somewhat conspicuous part, and shade, as it were, the historical ground with their presence. Thus the 'Book of Samuel' may be 1S.i.1-xxv.1, and the 'Book of Nathan' may be the middle part of the narrative, 2S.vii, together with the sections before and after, i.e. 1S.xxv.2-2S.xxiii, and the 'Book of Gad' may be 2S.xxiv. This supposition is very plausible, and certainly not to be hastily rejected. But the 'acts of David, first and last,' are not contained in the two books of Samuel, but are carried on in 1K.i,ii; and in the first of these two chapters *Nathan* is very prominent, so that we should have to consider this also as a part of the 'Book of Nathan.' (See **KUENEN**, p.312.)

285. If, however, we adhere to the more usual notion, that these three 'Books' of Samuel, Nathan, and Gad, were *written*, or supposed to have been written, by the Prophets whose names they bear, then, in this mention by the Chronicler of the 'Book of Samuel the Seer,' we have, it may be, a sign of the activity of Samuel in this direction. Either the Chronicler had actually seen the Book in question, or, at least, a vivid tradition may have come down to him of the Seer's historical labours in the olden time, six or seven centuries before his own. This may also seem to be confirmed by that other fact recorded about him in 1S.x.25, viz. that, on the election of Saul to the royal dignity, 'Samuel told the people the manner of the kingdom, and *wrote it in a Book*, and laid it up before Jehovah.' And it is very conceivable that, when he gave up to Saul the reins of government, and, during the last thirty-five years of his life, — more especially, during the last twenty years, when he 'came no more to see Saul,' but lived retired from public life, presiding over the school of the Prophets at Ramah, where at one time he had David staying with him, 1S.xix.18-24, (see also

1S.x.5,6,)—he may have devoted himself to such labours as these, for the instruction and advancement of his people. In this point of view, there may be a peculiar significance in the language of the Prophet Jeremiah, xv.1, where he closely couples Samuel with *Moses*,—‘Then said Jehovah unto me, Though Moses and Samuel stood before me, yet my mind could not be towards this people.’ See also Ps.xcix.6.

286. In such a work as this, Samuel may have been aided by the ‘sons of the Prophets,’ who clearly must have had some sort of occupation, besides that of merely ‘prophesying,’ i.e. probably, chanting psalms,—(see 1Ch.xxv.1, where we read of ‘the sons of Asaph and of Heman and of Jeduthun, who should *prophesy* with harps, with psalteries, and with cymbals,’)—and joining in religious processions, as in 1S.x.5. They could not have been engaged in the study of the Scriptures, as in a modern theological Institution, when such Scriptures, even those of the Pentateuch, did not yet exist,—at least, in their present form. It is very possible that Samuel may have gathered in these ‘Schools’ some of the more promising young men of his time, and may have endeavoured to train them, to the best of his power, in such knowledge of every kind as he himself had acquired,—the art of *writing*, it may be, among the rest.

287. In short, these ‘Schools’ may have resembled somewhat a modern ‘college,’ where the old Seer and Patriot sought to impart, as he best could, the rudiments, at least, of ‘sound learning and religious education,’ in advance of the general spirit of the rough age in which he lived, to a class of ‘choice youths, such as Nathan and Gad. For *their* use, in the first instance, he may have composed,—from whatever resources he had at his command,—either from the traditions of the people, or, it may be, as far as we know at present, even with the help of written documents handed down from an earlier time,—some account of the early history of Israel, as BEDE wrote that of the Anglo-Saxons. It is, indeed, a rare

combination for the same person to be an historian, and, at the same time, a great political character. Yet we have seen such instances even in our own days. And from 1S.viii it would almost seem that Samuel was not, perhaps, a first-rate politician; and in the latter part of his life, at all events, he displayed less personal activity, and was not wholly successful in his government. It is possible, in fact, that, at the time when his sons, set up by himself as judges in Beersheba, 'turned aside after lucre, and took bribes, and perverted judgment,' 1S.viii.3, Samuel may have been too closely engaged, and his attention too much absorbed, in such matters as these, to correct such disorders. Among his pupils, probably, as we have just said, were Nathan and Gad themselves, who thus may have had their first lessons in the writing of history.

288. Hitherto we have been advancing upon *certain* ground. It seems to follow as a necessary conclusion, from the facts which we have already had before us in Part I, that the account of the Exodus is in very essential parts not historically true, and, that, being such, it cannot possibly have been written by Moses or by any one of his contemporaries. We are, consequently, directly at issue on this point with Prof. RAWLINSON, who writes, *Aids to Faith*, p.249:—

The Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch is, therefore, a thing, which, to say the least, has not been hitherto disproved; and the ingenious attempts of the modern reconstructive criticism to resolve the work into its various elements, and to give an account of the times when, and the persons by whom, they were severally composed, even if they had no other fault, must be pronounced premature: for, until it is shown that the book was not composed by its reputed author, the mode and time of its composition are not fit objects of research.

289. But we are now entering on the field of conjecture. And though it will appear, as I believe, that there are very strong reasons for ascribing the Elohistie document, which forms the *groundwork* of these books, certainly, to the *age*, and, therefore, probably, also to the *hand*, of Samuel, yet this is a question

merely of probability, and our views in this respect may be shown to be erroneous, and be set aside by a more sagacious criticism, without at all affecting the positive results, to which we have already arrived. For myself, at all events, it would be a sinful shutting of my eyes to the plain light of Truth, if I ventured any longer to maintain the usual opinion, as to the origin and composition of the Pentateuch.

290. And, indeed, even Prof. RAWLINSON is obliged to express his own view of the composition of the Pentateuch, as follows, *Aids to Faith*, p.251 :—

(i) It is not intended to assert that Moses was the original composer of all the documents contained in his volume. The Book of Genesis bears marks of being to some extent a compilation. Moses probably possessed a number of records, some of greater, some of less, antiquity, whereof, under Divine guidance, he made use in writing the history of mankind up to his own time. It is possible that the Book of Genesis may have been, even mainly, composed in this way from ancient narratives, registers, and biographies, in part the property of the Hebrew race, in part a possession common to that race with others. Moses, guided by God's Spirit, would choose among such documents those which were *historically true*, and which bore on the religious history of the human race. He would not be bound slavishly to follow, much less to transcribe, them, but would curtail, expand, adorn, complete, them, and so make them thoroughly his own, infusing into them the religious tone of his own mind, and at the same time rewriting them in his own language. Thus it would seem that Genesis was produced. With regard to the remainder of his history, he would have no occasion to use the labours of others, but would write from his own knowledge.

(ii) It is not intended to deny that the Pentateuch may have undergone an authoritative revision by Ezra, when the language may have been to some extent modernised, and a certain number of parenthetic insertions may have been made into the text. And this authoritative revision would account at once for the language not being more archaic than it is, and for the occasional insertion of parentheses of the nature of a comment. It would also explain the occurrence of 'Chaldaisms' in the text.

(iii) It is, of course, not intended to include in the Pentateuch the last chapter of Deuteronomy, which was evidently added after Moses's death, probably by the writer of the Book of Joshua.

* 291. The above view, we must suppose, is approved, or, at least, is not objected to, by the Editor of '*Aids to Faith*,' Arch-

bishop THOMSON. It is needless to observe how very much even this view differs from the ordinary view of the composition of the Pentateuch. The idea of Ezra undertaking to revise, in a later age, words believed to have been written down by Moses, and to have Divine authority, &c, modernising language so venerable and sacred, must surely seem very strange to many an English reader. And yet to this extent, at least, the very champions of the ordinary view have been driven, by a conscientious regard to what they already know, more than others, of the real facts of the case.

292. As before observed (227), the present divisions of the Pentateuch are probably of much later date than the original composition, and are of no authority whatever in defining the limits of the different books, as if they were written *at first* in this form. Accordingly, we have seen already (212), that there is no ground for supposing that the *whole* of Genesis was written by one person, and the *whole* of Exodus by the same, or another, author, and so on. If the Elohist document was retouched, as we believe, in later days, we may expect to find interpolations, of longer or shorter length, occurring in all parts of the original narrative; and the work, thus increased, may have undergone a similar process of revision and amplification at the hands of more than one author in different ages. And this, in fact, we shall find to have been the case.

293. For the present, it may suffice to say, anticipating thus far the result of our future investigations, that the earliest, or Elohist document, which is the groundwork of the whole, and which, provisionally and tentatively, we may ascribe to Samuel, seems now to form about one half of the book of Genesis, a small part of Exodus, still less of Numbers, a very small portion of Deuteronomy, and about the same of Joshua, — in short, considerably less than a sixth part of the whole six

books. The Elohist word 'Shaddai,' which occurs *six* times in Genesis, is found only *once* in Exodus, E.vi.3, *twice* in Numbers, N.xxiv,4,16, and *not at all* in Leviticus, Deuteronomy, or Joshua,—a fact, which may serve to indicate how small a portion of these latter books belongs to the Elohist.

CHAPTER VIII.

INTRODUCTION OF THE NAME JEHOVAH.

294. IN the story of the Exodus we read as follows :—

‘And God spake unto Moses, and said unto him, I am JEHOVAH. And *I appeared unto Abraham, unto Isaac, and unto Jacob, by the Name of God Almighty (EL SHADDAT); but by my Name JEHOVAH was I not known to them.* And I have also established my covenant with them, to give them the land of Canaan, the land of their pilgrimage, wherein they were strangers. And I have also heard the groaning of the children of Israel, whom the Egyptians keep in bondage; and I have remembered my covenant. Wherefore say unto the children of Israel, I am JEHOVAH. And I will bring you out from under the burdens of the Egyptians, and I will rid you out of their bondage, and I will redeem you with a stretched-out arm and with great judgments. And I will take you to me for a people, and I will be to you a God. And ye shall know that I am JEHOVAH your God, which bringeth you out from under the burdens of the Egyptians. And I will bring you in unto the land, concerning the which I did swear to give it, to Abraham, to Isaac, and to Jacob; and I will give it to you for an heritage. I am JEHOVAH.’ *Ex.* vi. 2-8.

295. The above passage cannot, as it seems to me, without a perversion of its obvious meaning,—the meaning which would be ascribed to it by the great body of simple-minded readers, who have never had their attention awakened to the difficulties, in which the whole narrative becomes involved thereby,—be explained to say anything else than this, that the Name, Jehovah, was not known at all to the Patriarchs, but was now for the first time revealed, as the Name by which the God of Israel would be henceforth distinguished from all other Gods.

So Prof. LEE admits, who in his Hebrew Lexicon explains the word Jehovah to be—

the most sacred and unalienable name of God, unknown, however, to the Patriarchs; *it is not, therefore, more ancient in all probability than the time of Moses.*

And so JOSEPHUS writes, *Ant.ii.12.4*,—

Wherefore God declared to him (Moses) His holy Name, which had never been discovered to men before.

296. But then we come at once upon the contradictory fact, that the name, Jehovah, is repeatedly used in the earlier parts of the story, throughout the whole book of Genesis. And it is not merely employed by the writer, when relating simply, as an historian, in his own person, events of a more ancient date, in which case he might be supposed to have introduced the word, as having become, in his own day, after having been thus revealed, familiar to himself and his readers; but it is put into the mouth of the patriarchs themselves, as Abraham, *xiv.22*, Isaac, *xxvi.22*, Jacob, *xxviii.16*.

297. Nay, according to the story, it was not only known to these, but to a multitude of others,—to Eve, *iv.1*, and Lamech, *v.29*, before the Flood, and to Noah, after it, *ix.26*,—to Sarai, *xvi.2*, Rebekah, *xxvii.7*, Leah, *xxix.35*, Rachel, *xxx.24*,—to Laban also, *xxiv.31*, and Bethuel, *xxiv.50*, and Abraham's servant, *xxiv.27*,—even to *heathens*, as Abimelech, the Philistine king of Gerar, his friend, and his chief captain, *xxvi.28*. And, generally, we are told that, as early as the time of Enos, • the son of Seth, 'then began men to call upon the Name of Jehovah,' *iv.26*, though the name was already known to Eve, according to the narrative, more than two centuries before.

298. The recognition of the plain meaning of *E.vi.2-8*, such as that quoted above from Prof. LEE, (a writer of undoubted orthodoxy,) would be enough at once to decide the question as to the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch. If the Name originated in the days of Moses, then Moses himself, certainly, in writing the story of the ancient Patriarchs, would not have put the Name into their mouths, much less into those of heathen men, nor could he have found it so ascribed to them in an *older* document. Prof. LEE's view, therefore, would require us to suppose that, if Moses wrote the main story of the Exodus,

and of his own awful communications with God, as well as the *Elohistic* portions of Genesis, yet some other writer must have inserted the *Jehovistic* passages. But then it is inconceivable that any other writer should have dared to mix up, without any distinction, his own additions with a narrative so venerable and sacred, as one which had actually been written by the hand of Moses. The interpolator must have known that the older document was *not* written by Moses, and had no such sacred character attached to it.

299. The ordinary mode of ‘reconciling’ these discrepancies is exhibited in the following passage from KURTZ, ii.p.101:—

It is not expressly said that the Name, Jehovah, was *unknown* before the time of Moses, but merely that, in the patriarchal age, God had not revealed the fulness and depths of His Nature, to which that Name particularly belonged.

And so writes KALISCH, E.vi.2,3:—

The only possible explanation is that already alluded to,—‘My name, *Jehovah*, has not been *understood* and *comprehended* by the Patriarchs in its essence and depth,’—although it was, even in this time, already occasionally mentioned.

But this is, evidently, an assumption made only to get over a difficulty. If Abraham made use of the Name Jehovah at all, then God *was* known to him in some measure,—in some sense or other — by that Name, if not known so perfectly as by the Israelites in later days. If the Patriarchs employed the Name at all, it could scarcely have been said, ‘I appeared unto them by the Name, El Shaddai; but by my Name, Jehovah, was I *not known* to them,’ and surely not when we read such words as these:—

‘Abram *believed in Jehovah*, and He counted it to him for righteousness. And He said unto him, I am Jehovah, that brought thee out of Ur of the Chaldees, to give thee this land to inherit it.’ G.xv.6,7.

‘I am Jehovah, the God of Abraham thy father, and the God of Isaac; the land, whereon thou liest, to thee will I give it, and to thy seed, &c. And Jacob vowed a vow, saying, If God will be with me, &c. *then shall Jehovah be my God.*’ G.xxviii.13–21.

‘O God of my father Abraham, and God of my father Isaac, Jehovah, which saidst unto me, &c.’ G.xxxii.9.

Could Abram have *believed* in Jehovah, and God Himself have declared this Name to Abram, and yet Abram after all be said not to 'know God' by this Name?

After such words as the above, it appears to be a mere straining of the plain meaning of the Scripture, in order to escape from an obvious contradiction, to assign such a sense, as KURTZ and KALISCH and many other able commentators do, to the word 'know' in this passage of the Exodus.

300. Like the other contradictions, however, which appear in the accounts of the Creation and the Deluge, the whole is easily explained, when we know that different writers were concerned in composing the narrative of the book of Genesis. Wherever the name, Jehovah, is put into the mouth of any person throughout this book, the writer is the Jehovist. The Elohist, as has been said, never uses it at all, even when narrating facts of history in his own person: much less does he allow it to be uttered by any one of the personages, whose story he is telling.

Thus in G.xlvi.,2,3, where God appears to Jacob, we find it written:—

'And Israel took his journey with all that he had, and came to Beersheba, and offered sacrifices unto the Elohim of his father Isaac. And Elohim spake unto Israel in the visions of the night, and said. 'Jacob, Jacob.' And he said, 'Here am I.' And He said, '*I am Elohim, the Elohim of thy father.*''

Compare the Jehovistic passage, xxviii.13:—

'And, behold, Jehovah stood above it, and said, '*I am Jehovah, the Elohim of Abraham thy father, and the Elohim of Isaac.*''

So, too, in G.xlviii, where Jacob blesses Manasseh and Ephraim, and especially in v.15,16, where he accumulates, as it were, Divine titles,—

'God, before whom my fathers, Abraham and Isaac, did walk, the God which fed me all my life long unto this day, the Angel which redeemed me from all evil, bless the lads,'—

and where the writer could hardly have failed to have put the word Jehovah in the patriarch's mouth, if he had supposed it

known to him, it does not once occur. In fact, the Elohist never uses the Name, Jehovah, in his narrative, till after he has explained its origin in E.vi, or, perhaps, as we shall see presently, in E.iii,—just as he never uses the name Abraham, Sarah, or Israel, till after he has recorded the story of the change of the original name in each case, xvii.5,15, xxxii.28.

301. So, too, in all the Elohist portions of the book of Genesis, in some of which a multitude of names occurs, and many of them compounded with the Divine Name in the form EL, there is not a single one compounded with the Name JEHOVAH, in the form either of the prefix *Jelo* or *Jo*, or the termination *Jah*, both of which were so commonly employed in later times. Thus there are thirteen names in G.v, sixteen in G.xi.10–32, fifteen in G.xxii.20–24, thirty-three in G.xxv.1–15, seventy in G.xlvi, in all one hundred and forty-seven names; and in the last of these passages we have *Israel*, *Jemuel*, *Jahleel*, *Machiel*, *Jahzeel*; but *in not a single instance is any of these names compounded with the word Jehovah.*

302. Again, in N.i.5–15, among twenty-four new names, there are nine compounded with Elohim,—*Elizur*, *Shelumiel*, *Nethaneel*, *Eliab*, *Elishama*, *Gamaliel*, *Pagiel*, *Eliasaph*, *Deuel*,—*not one with Jehovah.* Again, in the list of spies, N.xiii.4–15, out of twenty-four other new names, four are compounded with Elohim,—*Gaddiel*, *Ammiel*, *Michael*, *Geuel*,—*none with Jehovah.* And in the list of those, who are to divide the land by lot, N.xxxiv.19–28, we have seven other names compounded with El,—*Shemuel*, *Elidad*, *Hanniel*, *Kemuel*, *Elizaphan*, *Paltiel*, *Pedahel*,—*none with Jehovah.* Also in Jo.xv we have six names of towns compounded with El,—*Jabneel*, *Kabzeel*, *Jokteel*, *Jezreel*, *Eltoled*, *Eltekon*,—besides the man, *Othniel*, but *not one with Jehovah.*

303. Some of the passages just quoted are, undoubtedly,

Elohistic; others may be, and in fact, as we shall see hereafter, are, most probably, Jehovistic. But, however this may be, the argument derived from them is decisive against the historical veracity of those portions of Genesis, which represent the name Jehovah as being all along as familiar in the mouths of men, even of heathen men, as the word Elohim. They do more than this. They suggest also that *even in the time of the Jehovist*, if he lived in a later age than the Elohist, the word Jehovah was *not in very common use* among the people, so as to be frequently employed in the composition of the names of their children. Otherwise, as he has introduced this Divine Name so freely from the first in his narrative, without apparently perceiving the incongruity which he was committing, we might expect that he would have just as inadvertently have introduced, here and there, such names as were common in his own time, compounded with Jehovah.

304. The above is said, assuming that it has been already sufficiently shown that there is no reason to suppose that the details of the story of the Exodus, including the lists of names, &c., are historically true. Otherwise, it might, of course, be argued that the very fact, that no such Jehovistic names occur in the whole narrative, is itself a strong indication of the truthfulness and historical reality of the record. But then how can the *absence* of such names be reconciled with the statement that in the time of Enos, men 'began to call upon the name of Jehovah,' or with the perfect familiarity with that name which, according to the Jehovistic portions of Genesis, existed in all ages? If so many names were formed, before the time of Moses, compounded with *El*, how is it that not one, throughout the whole book of Genesis, is compounded with *Jehovah*, on the supposition that this Name was known and used so freely from the first? In fact, if only *one* such name, *e.g.* Jochebed, really existed in the age before Moses, it is

obvious that it would only have been a type of a multitude of others, which must have been in use in those days, but of which we find no sign in the Pentateuch.

305. As it is, there are only *two* names of persons throughout the whole Pentateuch and book of Joshua, which are compounded with Jehovah, viz. that of Joshua himself, (of whom it is expressly recorded, N.xiii.16, that Moses changed his name from Oshea to Jehoshua,) and, probably, that of Jochebed, the mother of Moses. But the very fact of the occurrence of this latter name, as a solitary instance of the forms so common in later days being used in these early times, is itself a very strong indication that the passages in which it occurs, E.vi.20, N.xxvi.59, may be interpolations, the product of a later age than that even of the Jehovist. We shall find this suspicion confirmed as we proceed. For the present, it will be enough to say that it seems very strange that, if the names of the father and mother of Moses were known to the writer of the account of his birth in E.ii, they should not have been there mentioned at the first, instead of its being stated quite vaguely, 'There went a man of the house of Levi, and took to wife a daughter of Levi.'

306. Very different is the result, however, if we examine the Chronicles, and quite in consistency with what we have observed already of the character of this book. Here we find *Azariah*, 1Ch.ii.8, in the *third* generation from Judah. Nay, the wife of Judah's grandson, Hezron, who went down with Jacob into Egypt, is *Abiah*, ii.24, and Hezron's grandson is *Ahijah*, ii.25, and Judah's grandson is *Reaiah*, iv.2, and another of his early descendants is *Jonathan*, ii.32. So Issachar's grandson is *Rephaiah*, vii.2, and his great-grandson, *Izrahiah*, and *his* sons, *Obadiah*, *Joel*, *Ishiah*, v.3; and Benjamin's grandson is *Abiah*, v.8; and among the early descendants of Levi are *Joel*, xxiii.8, *Rehabiah*, v.17, *Jeriah* and *Amariah*, v.19, and *Jesiah*, v.20,

the first cousins of Moses, Jesiah's son *Zechariah*, xxiv.25, and *Jaaziah*, v.27; and we have actually *Bithiah*, the daughter of Pharaoh, iv.18, apparently the Egyptian king. So among the ancestors of Samuel himself are *Joel*, *Azariah*, *Zephaniah*, vi.36, which, however, appear as *Shaul*, *Uzziah*, *Uriel*, in v.24; and among those of Asaph and Ethan, David's contemporaries, are seven others, whose names are compounded with Jehovah.

307. In short, such names abounded in these early days, according to the Chronicler, just as freely as in later days, from the age of Jacob's great-grandchildren downwards. *Before* that age no such names are given even by the Chronicler; while, among the hundreds of names mentioned in the Pentateuch and book of Joshua, down to the time of the Conquest of Canaan, there are only two names of this kind, Joshua and Jochebed. It is scarcely possible to doubt that the Chronicler has simply *invented* these names. He has, apparently, copied the earlier names from the Pentateuch itself, down to the age of Jacob's grandsons, and a few of their children. But there, it would seem, his authority failed him, and for the rest he had to draw upon his own resources; and, accordingly, he has inserted many names compounded with Jehovah, which were familiar to himself in later days.

308. In fact, the argument obviously stands thus. Either the Name, Jehovah, *was* first revealed, according to the story, in the time of Moses, or it was known long before that age, from the very first,—from the time of Eve, G.iv.1, or of Enos, when 'men began to call upon the Name of Jehovah,' G.iv.26. If, then, it was first made known in the time of Moses, how can we account for so many names appearing in the Chronicles, of persons who lived before that age, which are compounded with Jehovah, to say nothing of the Name itself being so freely put into the mouths of all kinds of persons, in the Jehovistic portions of

the book of Genesis? If, on the other hand, the statements in G.iv.1,26, are true, then, as names compounded with Elohim were common enough, how is it that none are found compounded with Jehovah till more than two thousand years after the time of Enos, appearing first, but then, according to the Chronicler, as plentifully as in far later times, in the age of Jacob's great-grandchildren?

309. If, indeed, such names had first appeared *after* the time referred to in E.iii.vi, we might have supposed that then, by the *republication* of the Name, a fresh impulse was given to its being freely used among the people. But the Chronicler's data forbid such a supposition. According to him, the name first began to be used freely, and then it was used very freely, in the composition of names, among Jacob's great-grandchildren, while they were, we must suppose, miserable slaves in the land of Egypt. However, the fictitious character of the Chronicler's statements is sufficiently shown by the fact, that in the very age, in which he gives so many of these names, the Pentateuch and book of Joshua, amidst their numerous additional names, furnish not one of this kind, except, as before, Joshua and Jochebed.

310. It should be observed that the inference, which may be fairly drawn from the fact above stated is two-fold:—

(i) That main portions of the Pentateuch and book of Joshua were composed *before* the name Jehovah had been long in such familiar use, as to be freely employed in the formation of Proper Names;

(ii) That they were, probably, not written in the later ages, to which many eminent critics are disposed to assign them,—were not written, for instance, *after* the age of Solomon, or even *after* the latter part of David's life, when Proper Names compounded with Jehovah began to be common, as the

history shows, and, therefore, they would most likely have crept into the text. Thus we have David's sons, *Adonijah*, and *Shephatiah*, 2S.iii.4, *Jedidiah*, Solomon's other name, xii.25, *Jonadab*, David's nephew, xiii.3, *Jonathan*, the son of Abiathar, xv.27, *Benaiah*, *Jehoiada*, and *Jehoshaphat*, xx.23,24, another *Benaiah*, *Jonathan*, *Uriah* the Hittite, xxiii.30,32,39.

CHAPTER IX.

THE DERIVATION OF THE NAME MORIAH.

311. THERE is, however, *one* word in Genesis, the name of a *place*, מֹרְיָה, *Moriah*, G.xxii.2, which appears at first sight to be compounded with Jehovah. HENGSTENBERG, i.274–277, insists very strongly on this point; and, for the sake of the Hebrew student and critic, we must consider his arguments at length.

For the ordinary reader, however, it will be sufficient to observe as follows:—

(i) This is the *only* instance in the whole book of Genesis, where any name of place or person is (apparently) compounded with the name Jehovah; it is, therefore, highly probable from the first, that the derivation maintained by HENGSTENBERG may be erroneous.

(ii) It is *most unlikely* that this place was *generally* known — (as the Divine command in v.2, ‘Get thee into the land of Moriah,’ evidently implies) — known, therefore, to the idolatrous Canaanites, — by a name compounded with Jehovah, when there is not a single other instance, in the whole Bible, of the existence of *another* name, so compounded, *in that age*.

(iii) It is *impossible* that the place could have been already known familiarly as ‘Moriah,’ which means, according to HENGSTENBERG, ‘appearance of Jehovah,’ *before* that very ‘appear-

ance of Jehovah ' took place, described in the story, G.xxii, to which the giving of the name itself is ascribed.

(iv) It is shown below, on critical grounds, that the word in question, מֹרְיָה, *cannot* be formed as HENGSTENBERG supposes.

(v) It is also shown below that there is no real ground for the identification of the mount of Abraham's sacrifice with the Temple Hill at Jerusalem, the hill of 'Jehovah's appearance' to David, 2Ch.iii.1, the assumption of which identity is one of the main supports of HENGSTENBERG's argument.

(vi) The reader is referred to Chap. X for the reasons which lead us to identify the mount of Abraham's sacrifice with Mount Gerizim.

312. We proceed now to consider the arguments of HENGSTENBERG *seriatim*.

(i) 'Although in Genesis the composition of Proper Names with EL is throughout *predominant* (!),—(which indicates that the knowledge of JEHOVAH was yet feeble and vacillating, that men did not yet properly venture to associate Him, the High and Holy One, with earthly things, and satisfied themselves with what was constant and invariable, rather with the lower and more general names of God, (such as Elohim,) which corresponded to the general and prevailing state of religious knowledge and sentiment,)—yet, at least, there is *one* Proper Name, which indisputably is compounded with JEHOVAH, viz. Moriah, precisely that, in which the 'JEHOVAH' could with least propriety be wanting, whether we look at the first great event, by which the place was consecrated in the Patriarchal life, or keep in view the later historical development.'

Ans. I reply, generally, as above, that the introduction of EL, in Proper Names compounded with the name of the Deity, is not merely the *predominant*, but the *invariable*, usage, throughout the book of Genesis, in a multitude of instances, both of persons and places; and, therefore, it is *à priori* exceedingly improbable that this single name should form an exception to the universal rule. It is also, as said above, highly improbable that, in that age, at all events, when names generally were not so compounded, the place in question should have been *commonly known*, (as is implied by the command given to Abraham, 'Get thee into the land of Moriah,')—known, therefore, to the *Canaanites*, as well as to Abraham,—by a name compounded with the name Jehovah.

(ii) 'That the name was first formed on the occasion of the event mentioned in G.xvii, is expressly stated in v.14; so that the use of it in v.2 must be considered as *proleptic* (!)'

Ans. That is to say, according to HENGSTENBERG, when God Almighty said to Abraham, 'Get thee into the land of Moriah,' He, the Divine Being, used the name, Moriah, *proleptically*! He commanded Abraham to go to a place, which was not yet called by the name by which He called it!

But, in point of fact, v.14 does not 'expressly state' that the name 'Moriah' was formed on this occasion. It says, 'Abraham called the name of that place (not *Moriah*, מוריה, but *Jehovah-Jireh*, יהוה יראה, with express reference to the proverb, 'As it is said, In the Mount of Jehovah it (or He) shall be seen

(iii) 'The name is compounded of מראה, the Hophal participle of the verb ראה, and יה, an abbreviation of יהוה, and means literally 'the shown of Jehovah' = 'the appearance of Jehovah.' This derivation is supported by the only admissible etymology, joined with the demonstrable falsehood of any other. The Hophal of the verb ראה occurs in the Pentateuch four times, and nowhere else, and certainly in the sense of 'being caused to see,' viz. E.xxv.40, מראה, xxvi.30, הִרְאִיתִי, Lxiii.49, הִרְאָה, Div.35, הִרְאָה.

Ans. It is difficult to see how the Hophal participle of ראה can possibly have the meaning assigned to it by HENGSTENBERG, viz. 'the shown (= the appearance) of Jehovah,' or the kindred meaning proposed for it by KNOBEL, (*Genesis*, p.174,) 'the shown of Jehovah' = 'the place which Jehovah has shown.' In the first three of the four instances above quoted, in which the Hophal of this verb is used, it is employed in the sense, which it ought regularly to have, of 'being made to see'; and, most probably, it is to be taken in the same sense in the fourth instance, Lxiii.49, with a peculiar use of the particle אֵת, prefixed to a *nominative*, as in G.xvii.5, E.x.8, Lx.18, thus וְהִרְאָה אֶת־הַכֹּהֵן, 'and the Priest shall be shown it = shall be made to see it.'

Besides, the derivation proposed by HENGSTENBERG, viz. מראה־יה = מוריה, is inadmissible. It will be observed that in each of the above four instances the characteristic radical, א, of the verb ראה is not wanting. It could not have been omitted in a word compounded of the Hophal of ראה and יה.

On this point H. says: 'The trifling (!) deviation from the common form of the participle in Hophal has been sufficiently justified by FULLER, *Misc. Theol.* ii.14.'

On referring to FULLER (*Camb. Un. Lib.* ii.27,30) I find that he gives no 'justification' whatever for the omission of this א. His words are 'then by some kind of contraction א is struck out' (tum per contractionem quandam eliditur א).

[H. then proceeds to show the 'demonstrable falsehood of any other derivation.' But, as we do not profess to be able to give with certainty the true origin and meaning of the word, we need not consider at length this part of his argument. He proceeds, however, as follows.]

(iv) 'This derivation and meaning of the name is alluded to in 2Ch.iii.1, 'Then Solomon began to build the House of Jehovah at Jerusalem in Mount *Moriah*, where He *appeared* (נִרְאָה) to David his father.' Comp. 1Ch.xxi.16, 'And he saw (וַיֵּרָא) the angel of Jehovah,' and 2S.xxiv.17, 'when he saw (וַיֵּרָא) the angel.' The name *Moriah* had been revived under David: the 'appearance of Jehovah,' of which it was a memorial, had been repeated to him. On this account Solomon chose exactly this spot for the Sanctuary of Jehovah.'

Ans. It is possible that the Chronicler may have made the false etymology, which H. ascribes to him, of deriving מוֹרִיָּה, the name of the Temple Hill, from the verb נִרְאָה, with reference to Jehovah's 'appearing' to David. But the LXX version seems to imply the contrary, since it reads in 2Ch.iii.1, ἐν ὄρει τοῦ Ἀμορίας, 'in the mount of Amoria,' and the Syriac also has 'the mountain of the Amorites.' Yet, however this may be, it would still be impossible that the place of Abraham's sacrifice should have been called 'Moriah,' if that word means 'the appearance of Jehovah,' *three days, at least, before Jehovah appeared to Abraham.* G.xxii.2,4.

(v) 'This derivation forms the basis of the passage in G.xxii.14, 'And Abraham called the name of the place Jehovah-Jireh, (יְהוָה יֵרֵאֵה, 'Jehovah will see), as it is said to this day, In the mount of Jehovah He *will be seen*.' The name of the place, in its peculiar form, occurs in v.2, and is assumed to be universally known.'

Ans. No doubt, the name, יְהוָה יֵרֵאֵה, Jehovah-Jireh, is derived from the verb נִרְאָה, 'to see,' with express reference to the words of Abraham in v.8, 'God will provide for Himself (lit. *see* for Himself, יֵרֵאֵה-לִי) the lamb for a burnt-offering.' But this does not show that any connection exists between מוֹרִיָּה in v.2 and נִרְאָה, or that the place could have been called the 'appearance of Jehovah,' and this name be used freely by Jehovah Himself, as a name 'universally known,' before that 'appearance' took place, in consequence of which the name itself is supposed by H. to have originated.

(vi) 'For this reason an explanatory paraphrase is substituted for it in יְהוָה יֵרֵאֵה; and in such a case, throughout Genesis, it is usual to give not a strict etymological derivation, but only an allusion to the etymology. That God's 'seeing' here, where it is mentioned with reference to v.8, 'God will provide (יֵרֵאֵה, 'will see') for Himself,' is only so far noticed as it is inseparably connected with his 'being seen' or 'appearing,' the following words prove, 'As it is said to this day, &c.' The hope of the *future* appearing rests upon the certainty of the *present* appearing. On Moriah, the place of God's appearing, He *has* appeared; and there, faith hopes, He *will* manifest Himself for the future.'

Ans. Evidently v.14 contains a proverb which was current in the writer's day, the general meaning of which is that, in the time and place of need, God's care will be manifested for the obedient soul, that steadily pursues the path of faith and duty. The LXX translate ἐν τῷ ὄρει Κύριος ὠφθῆναι, 'in the mount the Lord

was seen,' that is, they appear to have read **יְהוָה יֵרָאָה**.—‘in the mount (i. e. in the extreme pinch of difficulty) Jehovah shall be seen’=‘Man’s extremity is God’s opportunity.’ Indeed, from the reference which is here made from the *name* to the *proverb*, we should rather expect the same form of expression to occur in each, so that in the latter **בְּהָר** will stand by itself, and **יְהוָה** be taken as the subject of the verb **יֵרָאָה**, as it is in the former, and this is what we find in the LXX version. Still, however, the agreement is not quite complete; since, as the present Masoretic text stands, (which expresses also the reading of the LXX,) we have in the *name*, **יְהוָה יֵרָאָה**, and in the *proverb*, **יְהוָה יֵרָאָה**, the vowel-points of the verb being different in the two cases, while the consonants are the same. TUCH (*Genesis*, p. 394) suggests that the original writer meant **יֵרָאָה** to be read in *both* cases, but he supposes that the vowel-points have been changed in the *name*, so as to refer it to the expression in v.8. Is not the contrary, however, more probable, viz. that the writer meant **יֵרָאָה** to be read in both cases, by which the reference is made at once to v.8? Only, on either supposition, the change in the vowel-sounds must have been made at an early age, before the LXX translation was made.

In this proverb, however, there is no kind of prediction, that in *that particular mount*, at some future time, viz. the days of David, there should be a second remarkable ‘appearance of Jehovah.’

(vii) ‘Thus the expression, ‘as it is this day,’ is to be regarded as a prophetic anticipation, on account of E.xv.17, where this anticipation, the hope of a future and more glorious revelation of God upon the site of the former, is yet more clearly expressed,—‘Thou shalt bring them in, and plant them in the mountain of Thine inheritance, in the place, Jehovah, which Thou hast made for Thee to dwell in, in the Sanctuary, Jehovah, which Thy hands have established.’ ABEN-EZRA’S and ROSENMÜLLER’S interpretation of the ‘mountain [of Thine inheritance],’ as the ‘mountainous land of Canaan,’ deserves no attention. That the mount Moriah, as the place which Jehovah would choose hereafter for the habitation of His Name, is intended, the two following clauses show plainly enough.’

Ans. It is by no means plain that mount Moriah is intended *throughout* the verse in question. On the contrary, it would rather seem that there is a gradual narrowing of the holy circle, in which God’s Presence was specially to be manifested, from the whole land of Canaan, the ‘mountain of God’s inheritance,’ (comp. Jo.xi.16, ‘the mountain of Israel and the valley of the same,’) which was holy, to the ‘more holy’ City, ‘the place which He would choose to dwell in,’ and the ‘most holy’ Sanctuary.

But, supposing with HENGSTENBERG that the Temple is referred to throughout, and that the ‘mount’ here mentioned is mount Moriah, there is not the least reason for regarding this passage as referring to the fulfilment of the (supposed) prediction in G.xxii.14.

(viii) 'It might, to be sure, be said, on the other hand, that *the author had transferred to the patriarchal times a name of later origin*. But this objection would only have force, *if other decisive reasons rendered it necessary to fix the origin of the name Jehovah in a later age*. Thus much may be inferred with certainty, from the occurrence of the name Moriah, that the writer never imagined a later origin of the name Jehovah. And, with his authority on our side, we need not be alarmed at every slight attack.'

Ans. There is, as it seems to me, 'decisive' proof of the later origin of the name Jehovah, and proof also that the name was not in common use—if in use at all—before the time of the Elohist. Still we cannot, in accordance with our view, assume that, in the passage now before us, a later name has been transferred by the writer to patriarchal times; because the greater part of G.xxii, including v.2, which contains the name Moriah, is, undoubtedly, as we shall see, due to the Elohist, and he could not have employed in this way a name compounded with Jehovah. Thus we are at variance on this point with DR WETTE, who supposes (*Eint. in A. T.* § 158) that a later name is here transferred to the patriarchal age, taking for granted that reference is here made to the mount on which the Temple was built, and infers that this passage of Genesis must have been written in *Solomon's* age, with the view of attaching an ancient celebrity to the site of the new Temple.

313. I have shown, as I believe, that the name Moriah, whatever may be its origin and meaning, cannot be compounded, as HENGSTENBERG maintains, of מֹרְיָה and יְהוָה, and cannot, certainly, have been given to the place of Abraham's sacrifice, in consequence of that 'appearance of Jehovah,' which occurred, according to the story, three days, at least, after the occasion, on which the name itself is put into the mouth of the Almighty. It remains now to be considered what may, perhaps, be the real meaning and origin of the name Moriah.

314. And here, first, let it be observed that G.xxii.2 does not speak of any '*mount* Moriah,' but of the '*land* of Moriah,' which is supposed to have been well-known to Abraham, whereas the *mount*, on which he was to sacrifice his son, was not as yet known to him, but was to be pointed out to him by God Himself:—'Take now thy son, thine only son, Isaac,

whom thou lovest, and get thee into the *land of Moriah*, and offer him there for a burnt-offering upon *one of the mountains which I will tell thee of.*' As BLEEK observes, *Stud. u. Krit.* 1831, p.520-524,—

It is very arbitrary to suppose that, whereas it is said, *v.*14, that Abraham called the place 'Jehovah-Jireh,' yet the writer meant it to be understood that he did *not* really call it by *this* name, but by the other name, Moriah, by which the whole district round was already known.

315. Accordingly, MICHAELIS in the Suppl. to his Heb. Lex. draws attention to the fact, that the prefix ה in המוריה may not be, as is generally supposed, the *article*, since the Hebrews did not say אֶרֶץ כְּנָעַן, 'the land of Canaan,' but אֶרֶץ כְּנָעַן, and therefore might be expected to write אֶרֶץ מוֹרְיָה, and not אֶרֶץ הַמּוֹרְיָה, if they wished to express the land of Moriah; and observing further the LXX and Syr. versions of 2Ch.iii.1, which are given in (312.iv.Ans.), he adds,—

'I cannot approve of the phrase being rendered 'land of the Amorites,' for this would require אַמּוֹרִיָּה, and not הַמּוֹרִיָּה; but I leave it doubtful whether the ה is part of the name, or a prefix.'

316. In the case of Abraham's sacrifice, however, the LXX render the expression, אֶל־אֶרֶץ הַמּוֹרִיָּה by εἰς τὴν γῆν τὴν ὑψηλὴν, 'to the *high* land;' and it is very noticeable that in G.xii.6, where the Hebrew text has אֵלֶּן מוֹרְהָ, E.V. *the plain* (more properly, *the oak* or *terebinth*) *of Moreh*, the LXX has τὴν δρυὺν τὴν ὑψηλὴν, 'the *high* oak.' So in D.xi.30 they translate אֶצֶל אֵלֶּנִּי מוֹרְהָ, E.V. 'beside the plains (rather, terebinths) of Moreh,' by πλησίον τῆς δρυὸς τῆς ὑψηλῆς, 'near the *high* oak,' and in Ju.vii.1, they render מוֹרְיָה הַמּוֹרְיָה, E.V. 'by the hill of Moreh,' by ἀπὸ Γαβααθαμωραί.

Again, in G.xxii.2, AQUILA has, instead of 'to the land of Moriah,' εἰς τὴν γῆν τὴν καταφανή, 'to the *conspicuous* land,' SYMMACHUS, εἰς τὴν γῆν τῆς ὀπτασίας, 'to the land of *the vision*,' not

(N.B.) ‘of the appearance of *Jehovah*,’ and so also the *Vulgate* has, *in terram visionis*, ‘to the land of vision.’

It would seem that the two latter versions must have been made from a reading, מראה, ‘vision,’ instead of מוריה; and, possibly, *Aquila* and the *LXX* may have read the same, deducing from it the notion that the land in question was ‘far-seen,’ ‘conspicuous,’ ‘high,’ ‘lofty.’ And this seems rather to be confirmed by the Samaritan text, which has, as it were, a mixture of the two readings,

CHAPTER X.

MOUNT GERIZIM THE MOUNT OF ABRAHAM'S SACRIFICE.

317. AGAIN, it will be observed that HENGSTENBERG'S argument rests mainly on the assumption that the 'mount Moriah,' which he *supposes* to be indicated in G.xxii.2, is the same as that actually mentioned in the Hebrew text of 2Ch.iii.1, viz. the hill at Jerusalem on which the Temple was built, and where, as he imagines, the *second* 'appearance of Jehovah' took place. But the fact is, that in only one single place of the O. T., viz. in the above passage of the Chronicles, written two hundred years after the Captivity, is the name המוריה, whatever may be its meaning, applied to the Temple Hill at all. As BLEEK observes:—

In all earlier writings after the time of Solomon, in the later Psalms, and in the Prophets, the hill, on which the Temple stood, is without exception called *Zion*. Wherever mention is made of the Sanctuary, Jehovah's earthly dwelling-place, *Zion* is invariably named, never once *Moriah*.

318. The following are some of the passages which prove, beyond a doubt, that the Temple, as well as the Tabernacle, was built on Mount *Zion*. We omit many, where 'Zion' *may* be understood as standing for the whole city of Jerusalem, and also a multitude of passages which occur in the *Psalms* since it might be disputed whether these were written *before* or *after* the days of David. But THURPP observes very justly, *Ancient Jerusalem*, p.24:—

It cannot be denied that the idea of 'holiness' is inseparably connected with the name Zion; and, if Zion was the Temple-hill, it is easily seen why Jerusalem, as the holy city, should be called by this name; but, had Zion been exactly the part of the city in which the Temple did *not* stand, then the use of the name Zion, to convey the idea of holiness, becomes absolutely inexplicable.

319. But the following passages from the Prophets were certainly written while the Temple was still standing, and they refer plainly to the Sacred *Hill* itself, and not to the city.

'Blow ye the trumpet in *Zion*, and sound an alarm in *my holy mountain*.' Joel ii.1.

'So shall ye know that I am Jehovah your God, *dwelling in Zion, my holy mountain*.' Joel iii.17.

'Upon *Mount Zion* shall be deliverance, and there shall be *holiness*.' Ob.17.

'Jehovah of Hosts, which *dwelleth in Mount Zion*.' Is.viii.18.

'The *place of the Name* of Jehovah of Hosts, *the Mount Zion*.' Is.xviii.7.

'Jehovah shall *reign* over them in *Mount Zion* from henceforth, even for ever.' Mic.iv.7.

In the following passages Mount Zion is expressly distinguished from the whole city of Jerusalem.

'In Mount Zion and in Jerusalem shall be deliverance.' Joel ii.32.

'When Jehovah hath performed His whole work upon Mount Zion and on Jerusalem.' Is.x.12.

'When Jehovah of Hosts shall reign in Mount Zion and in Jerusalem.' Is.xxiv.23.

So too, after the return from the Captivity and the rebuilding of the Temple, we read, Zech.viii.3—

'Thus saith Jehovah, I am *returned unto Zion*, and will dwell in the midst of Jerusalem; and Jerusalem shall be called a city of truth, and the mountain of Jehovah of Hosts, the holy mountain,'—

where the parallelism of the Hebrew poetry shows that 'Zion' is the 'mountain of Jehovah, the holy mountain.'

320. So too, in the time of the Maccabees we read:—

'Upon this all the host assembled themselves together, and went up into Mount Sion; and when they saw the Sanctuary desolate and the altar profaned, and the gates burned up, and shrubs growing up in the courts, as in a forest or in one of the mountains, yea, and the Priests' chambers pulled down, &c.' 1M.iv.37,38.

'So they went up to Mount Sion with joy and gladness, where they offered burnt-offerings, &c.' 1M.v.54.

'After this went Nicanor up to Mount Sion, and there came out of the Sanctuary certain of the Priests, &c.' 1M.vii.33; see also 'I will burn up this House,' v.35.

‘So then they wrote it on tables of brass, which they set upon pillars in *Mount Zion*,’ 1M.xiv.27: comp. v.48, ‘So they commanded that this writing should be put in tables of brass, and that they should be set up within the compass of the *Sanctuary* in a conspicuous place.

321. It is true that in this age the ‘city of David’ was evidently distinguished from ‘mount Zion’; since the Syrian king’s forces held a strong ‘tower’ in the ‘city of David,’ 1M.ii.31, vi.26, vii.32, xiii.49,52, xiv.7,36, while the Jews fortified ‘mount Zion,’ 1M.iv.60, vi.7,26,48,51,54,61,62, x.11, xiii.52; whereas Zion is called the ‘city of David,’ in 2S.v.7, 1K.viii.1, 1Ch.xi.5. For the discussion of this question see THURPP’s, *Ancient Jerusalem*, p.12–30. Perhaps, the ‘city of David’ with its ‘tower’ occupied the site of the old Jebusite fortress upon the *northern* end of Mount Zion; whereas the ‘Sanctuary’ was built upon the *southern* eminence of the *same* Mount; and hence we read, 1M.xiii.52, of the ‘hill of the temple that was *by* the tower.’ But, however this apparent discrepancy may be explained, and whatever view may be taken of the Chronicler’s solitary note of the name ‘Moriah’ being given to the Temple-hill, it may be considered as certain, from the above evidence, that both the Tabernacle and Temple were built on mount Zion, which fact will be found of some importance, as we proceed, in considering the age of certain of the Psalms.

322. Although, therefore, Moriah *may* have been commonly used for the Temple Hill in the Chronicler’s days, (though this must be considered doubtful,) yet the fact above stated by BLEEK leads us at once to two conclusions:—

(i) In opposition to DE WETTE, that no writer of Solomon’s days could have written this story of Abraham’s sacrifice, introducing the name *Moriah*, in order to attach celebrity to the Temple-Hill; since such a writer would surely have sought to attach such honour to the name of *Zion*;

(ii) In opposition to HENGSTENBERG, that the Jews, from David’s time and downwards, never could have understood the

hill of Abraham's sacrifice to have been mount Moriah, the Temple Hill; since then the Psalmists and Prophets would surely have made free use, or made use occasionally, of this name Moriah,—at least, after its having been 'revived,' as HENGSTENBERG says, in the days of David,—and not Zion exclusively. As it is, there is no indication in the Bible, except in this one very late notice of the untrustworthy Chronicler, that the Temple Hill was ever really called by this name.

At all events, as BLEEK observes—

'Not one of all the *ancient* interpreters has thought of המוריה in G.xxii.2 being identical with mount Moriah, the Temple Hill, except the Targ. Jer., although with the present Masoretic reading such a reference was so natural. Probably, this reading may be of very *recent* origin, not earlier than the introduction of the Masoretic punctuation.'

323. It was the more necessary to examine thoroughly into this question of the derivation of the name Moriah, not only because the fact of its being compounded with Jehovah, as HENGSTENBERG asserts, would militate with our view that the name Jehovah was not in *common* use in the days of the Elohist, but also because, if the place of Abraham's sacrifice was really meant to point to Mount Moriah, on which the Temple was afterwards built, our confidence in the conjecture which we have put forward, that Samuel was the Elohist author of Genesis, would be shaken. For in that case it is clear that some reference would be here *intended* to the future building of the Temple; and it would be necessary, for the maintenance of our view, to suppose that Samuel, before his death, had advised David upon this point; whereas there is no reason whatever from the history for such an assumption, except, indeed, that there seems to have been in Samuel's days a Sanctuary and city of Priests at Nob, which, as we shall see (364), is supposed to have been situated on the Mount of Olives, in the immediate vicinity of Jerusalem. It is possible that Samuel may have advised David as to building a Tabernacle,

and drawing his people, from time to time, to some royal city for religious purposes; though, it is true, the long delay of ten years, which ensued after David's accession to the throne, before he did this, might seem rather to negative such a supposition, and to indicate that the idea was either David's own, or was due to the suggestion of others, such as Nathan and Gad.

324. But then David had only reigned two years and a half over *all* Israel, when he brought up the Ark. And, though we see no signs of his establishing any stated religious services at Hebron, where he reigned previously over Judah for seven years, yet he may have waited till his supremacy was firmly secured over the whole land, before attempting to carry into execution any such a charge of the aged Seer. The choice of *Jerusalem*, however, as his royal city, seems to have been entirely David's own, and in Samuel's time, apparently, there was no idea entertained of it, any more than of building a Temple. If, therefore, it were necessary to understand this Elohist passage as referring to Mount Moriah near Jerusalem, we should be obliged to abandon the supposition of Samuel's being its author, and we should have to put the date of the Elohist as low down as the latter part of David's reign, which will not accord, as will be seen hereafter, with all our signs of time.

325. But upon this point I copy an extract from STANLEY'S *Sinai and Palestine*, p.250-253.

What is affirmed by the Gentile tradition, with regard to the connection of Gerizim with Melchizedek, is affirmed by the Samaritan tradition, with regard to its connection with the sacrifice of Isaac. 'Beyond all doubt,' (this is the form in which the story is told amongst the Samaritans themselves,) 'Isaac was offered on Ar-Gerizim. Abraham said, 'Let us go up, and sacrifice on the mountain.' He took out a rope to fasten his son; but Isaac said, 'No! I will lie still.' Thrice the knife refused to cut. Then God from heaven called to Gabriel, 'Go down, and save Isaac, or I will destroy thee from among the angels.' From the seventh heaven Gabriel called, and pointed to the ram. The place of the ram's

capture is still shewn near the Holy Place.' The Jewish tradition, as represented by Josephus, transfers the scene to the hill, on which the Temple was afterwards erected at Jerusalem; and this belief has been perpetuated in Christian times, as attached to a spot in the garden of the Abyssinian Convent, not, indeed, on Mount Moriah, but immediately to the east of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, with the intention of connecting the sacrifice of Isaac with the Crucifixion. An ancient thorn tree, covered with the rags of pilgrims, is still shown as the thicket in which the ram was caught.

But the Samaritan tradition is confirmed by the circumstances of the story. Abraham was 'in the land of the Philistines,' probably at the extreme south. From Beersheba to Gaza he would probably be conceived to move along the Philistine plain, and then on the morning of the third day he would arrive in the plain of Sharon, exactly where the massive height of Gerizim is visible 'afar off,' and from thence half a day would bring him to its summit. Exactly such a view is to be had in that plain; and, on the other hand, no such view or impression can fairly be said to exist on the road from Beersheba to Jerusalem, even if what is at most a journey of two days could be extended to three. The towers of Jerusalem are, indeed, seen from the ridge of Mar Elias, at the distance of three miles. But there is no elevation, nothing corresponding to the 'place afar off,' to which Abraham '*lifted up his eyes.*' And the special locality, which Jewish tradition has assigned for the place, and whose name is the chief guarantee for the tradition,—Mount Moriah, the Hill of the Temple,—is *not visible, till the traveller is close upon it*, at the southern edge of the valley of Hinnom, *from whence he looks down upon it, as on a lower eminence.*

And he states his maturer views as follows, *Lectures on the Jewish Church*, p.48,49:—

From the tents of Beersheba he set forth at the rising of the sun, and went unto the place of which God had told him. It was not the place which Jewish tradition has selected on Mount Moriah in Jerusalem,—still less that which Christian tradition shows, even to the thicket in which the ram was caught, hard by the Church of the Holy Sepulchre,—still less that which Mussulman tradition indicates on Mount Arafat, at Mecca. Rather we must look to that ancient Sanctuary of which I have already spoken, the natural altar on the summit of Mount Gerizim. On that spot, at that time the holiest in Palestine, the crisis was to take place. One, two, three days' journey from Beersheba,—in the distance the high crest of the mountain appears. And 'Abraham lifted up his eyes and saw the place afar off.'

326. To the above I will add the following remarks.

(i) It is much more probable that the site of such a sacrifice would be laid upon the 'smooth sheet of rock' (STANLEY,

Sinai and Palestine, p.238) upon the top of Mount Gerizim, in a central situation, visible, as the Table Mountain near Maritzburg in Natal, like a huge natural altar, to all the country round, yet where the transaction would be private and concealed from men's eyes, than on the low hill of the Temple, in the southern district of Judah, and *in the immediate neighbourhood of the Jebusite city of Jerusalem*, if not, indeed, actually included within its circuit, for Araunah the Jebusite certainly lived upon it in David's days, and his family may have lived there in Samuel's.

(ii) In D.xi.30 we read of Mount Gerizim and Mount Ebal. 'Are they not on the other side Jordan, by the way where the sun goeth down, in the land of the Canaanites, which dwell in the champaign over against Gilgal, beside the *terebinths* (אֵלִיָּם, E.V. 'plains') of *Moreh*?' But there was evidently one very remarkable hill or mountain in that land, since in Ju.vii.1 we read of the host of the Midianites being 'on the north side of the *hill of Moreh*, in the valley.' Now Gerizim was noted both as the *highest*,* and also as one of the *most fertile*,† of the hills of that district. May not Gerizim and Ebal have been 'the mountains' of the 'land of Moreh,' one of which was to be pointed out to Abraham? .

(iii) Moreh was already distinguished and hallowed as the place, where Abram first halted, after his entrance into the land of Canaan, G.xii.6, 'And Abram passed through the land unto the place of Sichem, unto the *terebinth* (E.V. 'plain') of *Moreh*.' It was, therefore, closely connected with the life of

* τὸ Γαρζεῖν ὕψος τῶν κατὰ τὴν Σαμαρείαν ὄρων ἐστὶν ὑψηλότατον. 'Mount Gerizim is the highest of the mountains throughout Samaria.' JOSEPHUS. *Ant.*v.7,2.

† Retulit mihi Jacobus Levi, montem Garizim esse fertilissimum, fontibus et scaturiginibus irriguum; montem Ebal contra planè aridum et sterilem esse. 'Jacobus Levi related to me that Mount Gerizim was most fertile, watered with founts and springs, whereas Ebal on the contrary was altogether arid and barren.'

; quoted by KENNICOTT, *Diss.*ii.p.38.

Abraham, whereas Mount Moriah at Jerusalem was wholly strange to it.

(iv) The later Jews may have had the same reason for corrupting this passage in Genesis, by changing מוֹרֵה, Moreh, into מוֹרִיָּה, Moriah, so as to draw away attention and honour from the famous, or, in their view, infamous, Samaritan mountain to their own Temple-hill, as they had for making the change in D.xxvii.4, Jo.viii.30, where, as KENNICOTT, *Diss.ii.c.1*, has convincingly shown, they have undoubtedly changed the original *Gerizim*, which still stands in the Samaritan copies of the Pentateuch, into *Ebal*, making thus the latter,—the *barren* mount, the mount of *cursing*, D.xxvii.13, instead of *Gerizim*, the *fertile* mount, the mount of *blessing*, D.xxvii.12,—on which Joshua himself, with the royal tribe of Judah, the priestly tribe of Levi, and his own tribe of Joseph, were to stand ‘to bless the people,’ *v.12*—to be the mount, on which Joshua and all Israel were to build an altar, and offer peace-offerings, and eat there, and rejoice before Jehovah their God, and set up great stones, with the Law engraved upon them, to remain as a record for all future ages.

CHAPTER XI.

THE NAMES ELOHIM AND JEHOVAH.

327. THE word ELOHIM, אֱלֹהִים, is a plural noun; it is the general name for Deity in the Hebrew language, and may be used, accordingly, for a heathen god. Upon this word KUENEN observes, *p.62*:—

The plural אֱלֹהִים, as well as the singular אֱלֹה, is derived from the root אָלַה, which is not used in Hebrew, but in Arabic has the meaning ‘to fear, dread, tremble.’ Hence, אֱלֹה is properly ‘fear,’ then ‘object of fear’; compare the use of פָּחַד, ‘fear, terror,’ G.xxxi.42,53, [where God is called ‘the Fear of Isaac’]; and in the same sense is אֱלֹהִים used. How the plural form is to be explained, whether it expresses the abstract, (*res tremende = numen tremendum*, ‘the Deity,’) or is a *pluralis majesticus*, or, perhaps, a real plural, and so a relic of a former state of polytheism, I leave undetermined. It is enough that Elohim, by virtue of its original meaning, is used to denote Deity in general.

328. It is, therefore, quite a mistake to think of proving the doctrine of the Trinity, as some do, from the fact, that Elohim is a *plural* name. It is true, this plural noun is generally used with a singular verb,—but not always; for it occurs with a plural verb in G.xx.13, and with a plural adjective or participle in Jo.xxiv.19, Ps.lviii.12. And, as above mentioned, it is used of an *idol*,—Dagon, 1S.v.7, Astarte, 1K.xi.5, Baalzebub, 2K.i.2,3,6,—as well as of the True God. It is, therefore, most probably, a *pluralis excellentiæ*, according to the very common Hebrew idiom, by which a plural noun is used to express a superlative degree of excellence of any kind. Thus we have אֲדֹנִים קָשָׁה, ‘a cruel lords,’ Is.xix.4, and ‘If I am a lords,’ אֲדֹנִים, where is my fear?’ Mal.i.6; so קְדוּשִׁים, ‘the Holy Ones,’ Pr.ix.10,

Hos.xi.12, אֱלֹהִים עֲשֵׂה, 'God my Makers,' Jobxxxv.10, 'Remember thy Creators, בּוֹרְאֶיךָ,' Ecc.xii.1, 'thy Husbands is thy Makers, בְּעֲלֶיךָ עֲשֵׂה,' Is.liv.5, 'Jehovah is thy Keepers, שֹׁמְרֶיךָ,' Ps.cxxi.5. So, too, אֲדֹנָי, Adonai, 'Lord,' so often used for God, is plural; and in D.x.17 we have the double plural, אֲדֹנָי אֲדֹנָיִם, 'Lords of lords.'

329. JEHOVAH, however, is never used of a heathen god; it is the proper Personal Name of Him, who is declared to be emphatically the covenant God of the Hebrew people, 'Jehovah, the God of your fathers, the God of Abraham, of Isaac, and of Jacob,' E.iii.16, 'Jehovah, the God of the Hebrews,' v.18, 'Jehovah, your God,' vi.7. Hence it is never used as an *appellative*, as Elohim often is. Thus we may find it written, 'thy Elohim,' 'Elohim of Israel,' 'Jehovah, your Elohim,' &c. but not 'thy Jehovah,' 'Jehovah of Israel,' 'Elohim, thy Jehovah.'

The assertion, therefore, of Dr. McCaul, *Aids to Faith*, p.195, if it is really true of any of the more noteworthy results of modern criticism, is certainly not applicable to our reasoning:—

The theory [of the existence of distinct Elohistic and Jehovistic passages in Genesis] rests upon an assumption totally false, that the names of Elohim and Jehovah are synonymous, and that they can be used indifferently one for the other.

330. We have said (300) that the Elohist never uses the name Jehovah until it has been published in E.vi, or, as we rather believe, in E.iii. Without going fully at present into the question, as to what portions of Genesis, Exodus, &c. are due to this writer, we may observe that E.iii appears to be mainly Elohistic, for the following reasons:—

(i) The name 'Elohim' occurs in it repeatedly, in fact, *twenty-one* times.

(ii) The phrase 'Mount of Elohim,' in v.1, is found again in E.xviii.5, xxiv.13, which are decidedly Elohistic passages, and in the first of them, *Jethro* is given, as here, for the name of Moses's father-in-law, not Reuel, or Raguel, Heb. רַעּוּאֵל.

as in E.ii.18, N.x.29. For 'mount of Elohim' the later writer uses 'mount of Jehovah,' N.x.33.

(iii) The expression in v.6, 'I am the Elohim of thy father, the Elohim of Abraham, the Elohim of Isaac, and the Elohim of Jacob,' is thoroughly Elohistic. As we have seen in (300), the Jehovist would most probably have written, 'I am Jehovah, the Elohim of thy father, &c.'

331. And yet there are phrases in it, which are never used by the Elohist, such as 'a land flowing with milk and honey,' v.8,17, a very characteristic expression, which does not occur, however, in any of the Elohistic promises in Genesis, or in the undoubtedly Elohistic passage, E.vi.8; and the name 'Jehovah' occurs in it *seven* times.

If, then, this passage was originally Elohistic, a later Jehovistic writer must have retouched it here and there, as if to make the older narrative, which he had before him, and which, perhaps, he was transcribing, more distinct and complete. We shall see hereafter, upon close inspection, that there is good reason to believe that this is really the case.

332. In E.iii.14, אֶהְיֶה אֲשֶׁר אֶהְיֶה, 'I AM THAT I AM,'* we find explained, apparently, the derivation of the name, יהוה, 'Jehovah,' according to the writer's view, from the Hebrew word היה, *hayah*, or הוה, *havah*, 'to be,' as if אהיה or אהוה, 'I AM,' were closely connected with יהוה, having, at all events, the same root with it. So we have Eve's name in Hebrew חַוָּה, *khavah*, = חַיָּה, *khayah*, 'because she was the mother of all living, כֹּל-חַי, *kol-khay*,' G.iii.20; and the imperative הָיוּ, *heveh* (with medial ו) occurs in G.xxvii.29, and, perhaps, in Job xxxvii.6, and הָיוּ, *hevi*, imp. fem., in Is.xvi.4. Whether this be the true origin of the Sacred Name or not, it appears to have been that which approved itself to the Elohistic author. The

* It has been suggested that the translation of this passage should rather be, 'I WILL BE WHAT I WILL BE.' In E.iii.12, just before, we have the same word אֶהְיֶה, where it is translated 'I will be,' and so in G.xxxi.3: it appears also with Vau Conversive in 2S.vii.6, Ps.cii.7(8), where our versions, both Bible and Prayer-Book have 'I am,' but JEROME, more correctly, 'fui.'

proper vowel-sounds of the word יהוה are, indeed, now unknown; and it is always pronounced, as it was by the later Jews, with the vowel-sounds of אֲדֹנָי, Lord, or with those of אֱלֹהִים, when אֲדֹנָי itself precedes it, as in G.xv.2,8. By the later Samaritans the word שֵׁם or שְׁמָה, 'the Name,' is regularly substituted for יהוה.

333. It is difficult, however, to say what part of the verb יהוה it can be, unless it be, as GESENIUS and most German critics suppose, (and so HENGSTENBERG, *Pent.i.247*,) a particular form of the future third pers. sing. יהִי, *Jahveh*, or יִהְיֶה. This would agree with the Samaritan pronunciation, as given by THEODORET, *quæst. 15 ad Ex.vi*, καλοῦσι δὲ αὐτὸ ΙΑΒΕ, 'Ιουδαῖοι δὲ ΑΙΑ, which last seems to point to But the ordinary form of the future of היה is יִהְיֶה, as given in 1K.xiii.32, כִּי הָיָה יְהִיָּה הַדָּבָר. The name ΙΑΩ, Diod. Sic.,* or ΙΑΟΥ, CLEM. ALEX.,† is evidently formed from the abbreviated Hebrew יהו or יה. PORPHYRY ‡ represents it by IETΩ. JEROME says on Ps.viii,—

Prius nomen Domini apud Hebræos quatuor literarum est, *jod, he, vau, he*, quod propriè Dei vocabulum sonat, et legi potest *Jeho*, et Hebræi ἄρρητον, i.e. ineffabile, opinantur.

334. Thus derived, the name יהוה may be considered to mean 'HE IS,' in opposition to the gods of the Gentiles, 'which are not,' which are 'no אֱלֹהִים,' Is.xxxvii.19, but mere אֱלִילִים, 'vanities,' L.xix.4, xxvi.1, and to represent, in the mouths of *men*, the 'self-existent Being,' the 'Eternal,' the 'Living God,' 'Who was, and is, and is to come,' *ὁ ὢν καὶ ὁ ἦν καὶ ὁ ἔσθι*.

τοῖς Ἀριμασποῖς Ζαβραύστην ἱστοροῦσι τὸν ἀγαθὸν δαίμονα προσποιή-
τους νόμους αὐτῶ διδόναι . . . παρὰ δὲ τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις Μωσὴν τὸν ΙΑΩ
ἐπικαλούμενον θεόν. i.p.105, ed. *Wesseling*.

† λέγεται δὲ ΙΑΟΥ, ὃ μεθερμηνεύεται ὁ ὢν καὶ ὁ ἔσθι. *Strom.v* p.562, ed. *Paris*. 1629.

‡ ἱστορεῖ δὲ περὶ Ἰουδαίων ἀληθέστατα, ὅτι καὶ τοῖς τόποις καὶ τοῖς ὀνόμασιν αὐτῶν
τὰ συμφωνότατα, Σαγχουνίαθων ὁ Βηρύτιος, εἰληφὼς τὰ ὑπομνήματα παρὰ Ἱερομβάλου
τοῦ ἱερέως θεοῦ, τοῦ ΙΕΤΩ. EUSEB. *Præp.Ev.i*.p.67, ed. *Gaisford*.

Rev.i.8; whereas 'I AM' could only properly be used, as in E.iii.14, by the Divine Being Himself.

335. Then, after this preparation in E.iii.14, the word 'Jehovah' is used by the Elohist, as we believe, *for the first time* in v.15:—

And God said moreover unto Moses, Thus shalt thou say unto the children of Israel, JEHOVAH, the Elohim of thy fathers, [not 'the LORD God of thy fathers,' E.V.] the Elohim of Abraham, the Elohim of Isaac, and the Elohim of Jacob, hath sent me unto you. *This is my Name for ever, and this is my memorial unto all generations.*'

From this place forward, supposing our view of E.iii to be correct, the word is freely used by the Elohist, as well as the older word, Elohim. Yet still the two words are by no means synonymous; and, though they may be often used promiscuously by any writer, yet there are occasions when he would be led by his subject to use one form rather than the other. Thus where the *Divine*, generally, is to be distinguished from the *Human*, 'Elohim' would most properly be used, even by the Jehovist, as in G.xxxii. 28, Ju.ix.9,13, E.xxxii.16, (where the stone tables were to be engraved by Divine, not human, agency,) &c. On the other hand, 'Jehovah' would be specially required, where reference is made to the covenant God of Israel, as distinguished from the deities of other nations.

336. Now let it be observed once more, that it matters not at all whether the view, which is here taken of the composition of E.iii, be held to be correct, or not. It is *certain* that E.vi.1-13 is due to the Elohist; for, besides other indications, (as will be seen more fully hereafter,) it contains the expression 'El Shaddai' in v.3, which occurs six times in the Pentateuch, always in Elohist passages (213), and in no other place of the Bible*,

* The word 'Shaddai' occurs by itself, without 'El,' in G.xlix.25, N.xxiv.4,16, R.i.20,21, Ps.lxviii.14(15), xci.1, Is.xiii.6, Ez.i.24, Joel.i.15, and *thirty-one* times in the book of Job. In fact, the book of Job consists of an *historical framework*, which connects together a number of *discourses*. In the *framework* we find

except Ez.x.5, 'as the voice of El Shaddai, when He speaketh.' Hence it follows that either in E.vi, or, as we believe, in E.iii, the Elohist first introduces into his narrative the name 'Jehovah.'

337. The *Elohist*, then, represents the name as having been first announced to Moses and the Israelites at the time of the Exodus. And he carefully avoids using it in all the foregoing part of the story from Adam downwards, through the times of Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, and Joseph, to that of Moses. The *Jehovist* uses it freely all along. And, without giving any account of its first introduction, he puts it in the mouth of Eve, G.iv.1, and remarks incidentally that, as early as the time of Enos, 'men began to call upon the Name of Jehovah,' G.iv.26.

338. The question now to be considered is, which of these two writers gives the true account, or, rather, is *either* statement correct? Does not the very existence of this discrepancy suggest the probability of neither version of the story being the right one? May it not be possible that the Elohist wrote at a time, when the word was quite new and fresh-coined,—when it had only just been introduced, perhaps, by himself, as the *national* Personal Name for the Divine Being, with the view of drawing more distinctly the line of demarcation between the people of Israel,—now first gathered under a king, and no longer living in scattered, separate, tribes,—and the idolatrous nations round them? May not the Elohist writer, wishing to enforce the adoption of this strange Name, have composed for the purpose this portion of the Mosaic story, while the later Jehovist, — writing when the Name, though not, perhaps, even yet in common every-day use, was beginning to be more generally known, and was, at all events, familiar to himself,—uses it

Jehovah *thirty-one* times, Shaddai, *once*, Elohim, *eighteen* times, while in the *discourses* we have Jehovah *once*, Shaddai, *thirty* times, Elohim, *ninety-six* times; so that the discourses are strongly Elohist, set, as it were, in a Jehovistic framework. These facts would, of course, be taken into account, in determining the ages of the different parts of this book.

freely from the first, without perceiving, or, at least, *without feeling very strongly*, the contradiction thereby imported into the narrative, as, in fact, he did not perceive that his insertion in G.ii contradicted G.i (205), and that in G.vii contradicted G.vi (208), and so in many other instances, of which we shall have to take account hereafter?

339. In fact, from what we have already seen of the un-historical character, generally, of the account of the Exodus, we have no longer any reason for supposing it to be necessary to believe that the name Jehovah really originated in the way described in E.vi. Yet it must have originated in *some* way, —at some time or other,—in the real history of the Hebrew people, just as the Zulu Name for the Creator, Unkulunkulu, ‘the Great-Great-One,’ must have been first used by some one, in some part or other of *their* past history. Is it not *possible*, then, that the Name Jehovah may have been first employed by Samuel, in order to mark more distinctly the difference between the Elohim of the Hebrews and the Elohim of the nations round them, and make it more difficult for them to fall away to the practice of idolatry?

340. Certainly, it would be much more easy and natural to suppose, if that were not contradicted by the actual evidence in the case before us, that Samuel, or whoever else composed the Elohist document, *found* the Name already in use among his people, and with some legendary traditions attached to it, as to the way in which it was first made known to them by Moses, during their march through the wilderness. If it were right to wish any such fact of history to be other than it really is, one would rather *desire* such a solution of the present difficulty, and gladly embrace it. But a firm and honest adherence to the plain results of critical enquiry, as set forth in the following chapters, will not allow of our making this supposition. They seem to compel us to the conclusion, that the Name was quite new to the Hebrew people in the days of Samuel; and, if so,

we can scarcely avoid the inference that he himself must have first introduced it.

341. In that case, he may have written the account of the revelation to Moses in E.iii, as we suppose, or else in E.vi, with the view of accounting for the origin of the Name, and may have carefully abstained from using it in his narrative, until it was thus, as it were, introduced with authority. We may conceive that the sheets of parchment or papyrus, on which the old Seer had inscribed, as best he could, the early annals of the Hebrew history, were left at his death,—*unfinished*, probably,—in the hands of the members of his ‘School,’ for whose instruction, in fact, they were, as we suppose, composed in the first instance, though their Teacher’s large and patriotic mind would embrace, no doubt, the whole population of the land, whom he hoped gradually to reach by means of their influence.

342. This unfinished work, then, would fall naturally into the custody of some disciple of Samuel, one of the ‘Prophets’ of his ‘School,’ such, for instance, as Nathan or Gad,—not exactly, therefore, a *contemporary* of the Seer, so as to have shared in his counsels from the first, and to have taken a deep personal interest in the original plan,—and yet living at a time so near to *his* time, that the Name, Jehovah, though well-known to those of higher mind, as David and the Prophets and Priests of his age, was not yet thoroughly *popularised*, was not, therefore, used as familiarly as the old name Elohim, in the common speech of the people at large, nor compounded freely in their Proper Names. And he, who had already, perhaps, witnessed the actual growth of the history under his master’s hands, and had imbibed, we may suppose, some portion of his spirit, might very properly seek to carry on and perfect so interesting and useful a work; he might even have been charged by the dying Seer himself to do so.

343. Accordingly, he may have done his best to this end,

making additions here and there from any sources at his command, illustrating, amending, enlarging, and, perhaps, at times abridging, the original story, and filling up the latter portion of the narrative, which was left, perhaps, altogether incomplete. Such a writer as this, accustomed from his youth upwards, as one of Samuel's pupils, to use habitually, in his common discourse, the name Jehovah, as the Proper Name of the God of Israel, might not think it necessary to adhere to the peculiarity which marked the earlier narrative, but might use the name Jehovah freely from the first, and might, indeed, desire, or think it best, to represent it as a Name known to pious worshippers from a very early age.

344. Should it further appear, as I believe it will, that there is very little in the Pentateuch *after* E.vi which really belongs to the Elohist, who seems to have either brought his story to a close very abruptly, or to have left it, towards the conclusion, in a *very* imperfect and defective state, there would have been the less reason for this second writer to have considered it incumbent on him to adhere strictly to the plan of the Elohist. He may, therefore, have determined altogether to abandon it in his own composition, and to represent the name Jehovah, as used commonly among men from the days of Enos downwards. In that case, however, he must have retained deliberately the grand Elohist chapter, E.vi, as too interesting and important to be omitted in the story of the Exodus, though aware of the inconsistency thus occasioned, or, it may be, as above suggested, because he did *not* feel very strongly the contradiction thus involved, as he clearly did not feel the contradictions which exist between his own accounts of the Creation and the Flood, and those of his predecessor, or even as multitudes of devout and thoughtful readers have studied the Bible closely in our own days, without perceiving these obvious discrepancies.

345. It would be very natural, however, for a writer such as this, upon first introducing the Name Jehovah into the story,

—a Name, as we suppose, not yet thoroughly popularised,—to couple it with the familiar Name Elohim, so making the transition, as it were, more easy. In this way, perhaps, we may account for the fact that in G.ii.4—iii.24, the *first* Jehovistic section of the Bible, the Name ‘Jehovah’ occurs *twenty* times and always in the form ‘Jehovah Elohim,’* Lord God,—not ‘Jehovah’ only, as in the subsequent section, which, however, as will be shewn hereafter in Part III, is due to the same writer. Thus KUENEN writes, p.98:—

In no case can this change be considered as a token of a change of author. The unity of authorship in ii.4—iv.26 is sufficiently shown as well through the connection of the narratives as through their agreement in phraseology, and is, in fact, not doubted by most interpreters.

346. This circumstance rather suggests the idea, that the writer composed it at a time, when the Name, though already familiar to himself, was not yet universally employed, and that he wished in this way to commend it to popular acceptance, instead of merely adopting it as a word already common in the mouths of the people.

In like manner, the Zulus can speak of the Unkulunkulu of this, or that, person, or people. In the Church of England Missions, however, the word uDio has been introduced for the Name of God, as specially set forth in Christian teaching. And it is not uncommon for a missionary to join the two together, in speaking to the natives, in the form uDio-Nkulunkulu.

347. Dr. McCaul explains this matter, from the (so-called) orthodox point of view, as follows:—*Aids to Faith*, p.196.

In G.i. Moses might have used either Elohim or Jehovah, except in v.27, where Elohim was compulsory. But, in the opening of the Divine teaching, it was necessary to make clear, that God is the Creator, that the world was not eternal or

* The LXX carry on the expression *Κύριος ὁ Θεός* for several chapters after G.iii, using it instead of the simple *Κύριος*, c.g. iv.6,9,13,15,26, vi.3,5,8,12,13,22. Frequently also they use *Θεός* for *Κύριος* in these early chapters, as in ii.5,7,8,9,19,21, 22; *Κύριος ὁ Θεός* occurs first in ii.4.

independent, and also that Jehovah is not one among many,—not the national God of the Hebrews,—but that Jehovah, the self-revealer, and Elohim, the Almighty Creator, are one. Therefore, in G.i *Elohim* is used throughout. The Deity is the Creator. But, in approaching that part of the narrative, where the personal God enters into relations with man, and where ‘Jehovah’ was necessary, Moses unites the names, and says ‘Jehovah Elohim.’ Had he suddenly used *Jehovah* alone, there might have been a doubt—[in the minds of whom, if *both* names were known to the Hebrews, and familiarly used by them and their forefathers?]
—as to whether Jehovah was not different from Elohim. The union of the two names proves identity; and, this being proved, from G.iv on Moses drops the union, and sometimes employs *Jehovah*, sometimes *Elohim*, as occasion, propriety, and the laws of the Hebrew language, require.

348. At present, the suggestions, which we have made above, are only conjectural, except to this extent, that—

(i) We have seen reason already to conclude with certainty (282) that the main portion, at least, of the story of the Exodus must have been written long after the time of Moses and Joshua, whatever relics of that earlier age may still, perhaps, be retained in the narrative;

(ii) We can scarcely doubt that the age of Samuel is the *earliest* age, after the time of the Exodus, at which such a history can be conceived to have been written;

(iii) We have observed some indications (245), which seem to point to the age of Samuel, as the time at which some portions of the Pentateuch may have been written;

(iv) We have reason to believe (283) that Samuel and his pupils did actually employ themselves in historical composition.

Let us now see if we can bring any proofs to bear directly and decisively on this question.

CHAPTER XII.

THE ELOHISTIC PSALMS OF DAVID.

349. LET it first be observed that, in the Pentateuch, and Book of Joshua, so soon as the Name Jehovah is proclaimed, it appears constantly in every page as the *ruling* Name, the word habitually and most commonly employed for the Divine Being. This continues also through the books of Judges, Ruth, Samuel, and Kings. The Name Elohim is also used, but *far more frequently* the Name Jehovah.

350. Thus a careful examination of each book gives the following result, reckoning only those instances in which the name El or Elohim is applied to the True God, and not to human beings or idols.

	Elohim	Jehovah
Exodus	134	398
Leviticus	52	311
Numbers	34	396
Deuteronomy	334	550
Joshua	67	224
Judges	52	174
Ruth	3	18
1 Samuel	97	320
2 Samuel	59	163
1 Kings	88	258
2 Kings	77	277

In Jo.ii.9-12, the Name Jehovah is put *four* times into the mouth of the *Canaanitish harlot*, Rahab. In N.xxii-xxiv it occurs *twelve* times in the addresses of the *heathen prophet*,

Balaam, and Elohim only *eleven* times; nay, he is actually made to say, 'I cannot go beyond the word of Jehovah, my God,' N.xxii.18.

351. Thus there can be no doubt whatever, that the story, as told in the Pentateuch and all the other historical books, represents the Name Jehovah as being far more common in the mouth of the people generally than the Name Elohim, all along downwards, from the time of its being announced as the special Name, by which the God of Israel would be known to His people.

352. If, then, we have any means of testing independently the truth of this representation, we shall thus have light thrown, from an entirely new quarter, upon the question now before us, as to the historical veracity of the Books of the Pentateuch. If we find, upon certain evidence, that the Name Jehovah *was* thus habitually employed by men, who, beyond all doubt, lived and wrote within the period embraced by these Books, we shall have *so far* an agreement with the Mosaic story, that there is here no contradiction to it; though, in face of the evidence, already produced, of the unhistorical character of the narrative, even such an agreement as this could not, of course, avail to establish its veracity.

353. But if, on the other hand, we find the exact contrary,—if we find that, so far from the Name Jehovah being habitually used, it was used *very rarely*, much less freely than Elohim, and often *not at all*, by most eminent writers, who must have been familiar with the Name, and must have used it, if it was really common in their days,—we shall have here a direct and palpable contradiction to the intimations of the Mosaic Books, and a strong independent proof, in addition to what we have observed already, of the unhistorical character of the Mosaic story.

354. Let us examine, then, for this purpose, the Book of

Psalms, and those *Psalms* especially, in the first instance, which appear by their titles to have been written in the earlier part of David's life. And let us see if David makes use of the Name *Jehovah*, as freely as we should expect him to use it, from what we find in the *Pentateuch*,— as freely as he *must* have used it, if the word was in common use in his days, and believed to have had set upon it the seal, as it were, of *Jehovah* Himself, as the Name by which He would be known as the Covenant God of Israel. It is true that the titles of the *Psalms* may be, in many cases, of much later date than the *Psalms* themselves, and are not to be depended on, when unsupported by internal evidence of their truthfulness. But the contents of a *Psalm* will sometimes confirm the statement in the title, as to the occasion on which it was composed, and be sufficient to satisfy us as to the part of David's life in which it was written.

355. Of the hundred and fifty *Psalms* contained in the Bible, nearly *half*, viz. *seventy-three*, are, by their titles attributed to David in the Hebrew text, while 'the LXX assign eleven others to him. Of the above seventy-three, fourteen have inscriptions which specify the event in David's life, with reference to which the *Psalm* was composed. Eight of these inscriptions refer to events in his *earlier* years, before he was king. Of these eight, six, when examined, give the following results:—

(i) In Ps. lii, when 'Doeg, the Edomite, came and told Saul, and said unto him, David is come to the house of Ahimelech,' we have *Elohim* *five* times, *Jehovah* *not once*.

(ii) In Ps. liv, when 'the Ziphims came and said to Saul, doth not David hide himself with us?' we have *Elohim* *four* times, *Adonai* (Lord) *once*, *Jehovah* (Lord) *once*.

(iii) In Ps. lvi, when 'the Philistines took David in Gath,' at the court of Achish, we have *Elohim* *nine* times, *Jehovah* *once*.

(iv) In Ps. lvii, when 'David fled from Saul in the cave,' we have *Elohim* *seven* times, Lord *once*, *Jehovah* *not once*.

(v) In Ps. lix, when 'Saul sent, and they watched the house to kill him,' we have *Elohim* *nine* times, Lord *once*, *Jehovah* *three* times.

But, in this last *Psalm*, the expression in v. 11, 'Slay them not, lest *my people*

forget it,' would seem to imply that the writer was *king* at the time, and, therefore, that, if written by David, it was composed at a later date than that which the title ascribes to it.

(vi) In Ps.lxiii, when 'David was in the wilderness of Judah,' we have Elohim *three* times, Jehovah *not once*.

356. The above are *all* the Psalms ascribed to David (with two exceptions, Ps.xxxiv,Ps.cxlii, to be considered presently), whose early age is distinctly intimated in their titles; and in each instance we see a phenomenon the very opposite to that, which the Pentateuch and other historical books would lead us to expect. And let it be observed that this is true, supposing that these Psalms were really written by David, whether he wrote them on the occasions mentioned in the titles, or not, and even if they were not written by David at all, but by some other person *of that age*. But, if the titles can be relied on, (as HENGSTENBERG so strenuously maintains,) we here perceive that in David's earlier days,—at a time when he was in close intimacy with the venerable Prophet Samuel, with whom, we are told, he stayed some time at Ramah, 1S.xix.18, while a fugitive from Saul, and when he must, doubtless, have mingled with the Prophets of Samuel's 'School,' have heard their sacred hymns, and taken part in their religious services,—though he *knew* the Name, Jehovah, yet he was certainly *not* in the habit of using it *freely*; he either used it not at all in his compositions, or used it very sparingly, *as if he was only now beginning to use it*, as if it was somewhat *new and strange to him* as yet, not so frequent on his lips, not so familiar to his thoughts, as the old and well-known name, Elohim.

357. It is surely inconceivable that a man, so eminently pious as David, should, during a large portion of his life, have been writing not only these Psalms, but, as we shall see, very probably many others* also, in which this Name Jehovah is hardly ever employed, *if the story of the giving of the Name is really true*,—if it was known to David that this Name was first revealed to Moses by the Lord Himself, (as E.iii seems to

imply), and, at all events, had the special sanction and approval of Almighty God, as the Name by which He chose to be addressed, the proper Name of the God of Israel,—‘This is my Name for ever, and this is my memorial unto all generations.’ E.iii.15. It seems absolutely impossible that either he, *or any other good man of those days*, should have done this, if the Name was so common in the mouths of all pious and devout men, even of *heathen* persons, in his own and all the post-Mosaic ages, as the history represents.

358. For the Psalms, above instanced, are by no means the only cases in which the same phenomenon occurs, among the Psalms ascribed to David. The above six are all those, (with, as I have said, two exceptions,) about whose early age we are able *at once* to speak with some degree of confidence, relying partly upon their titles, and partly upon internal evidence from the nature of their contents. But, if we examine carefully all the thirty-one Psalms of the *Second Book*, Ps.xlii to Ps.lxxii, of which *eighteen*, marked below with an asterisk, are ascribed to David, we shall have the following very noticeable result:—

Ps.	E.	J.	Ps.	E.	J.	Ps.	E.	J.	Ps.		
42	13	1	50	10	1	58*	2	1	66	8	0
43	8	0	51*	6	0	59*	9	3	67	6	0
44	5	0	52*	5	0	60*	5	0	68*	31	3
45	4	0	53*	7	0	61*	3	0	69*	10	5
46	7	3	54*	4	1	62*	7	0	70*	3	2
47	8	2	55*	6	2	63*	3	0	71	9	3
48	8	2	56*	9	1	64*	3	1	72	3	1
49	2	0	57*	7	0	65*	3	0			

359. The eighteen Psalms, which are here ascribed to David, include the six which we have just been considering, and which were written, as we have seen, (supposing their titles to be correct), at an early period of his life, when, in fact, he was not yet *thirty* years old. They include, also, three from the *middle* part of his life,—Ps.lx (E.5,J.0), when ‘Joab returned, and smote of Edom, in the valley of salt, twelve thousand men,’ in the *forty-fifth* year of David’s life,—Ps.li (E.6,J.0), after his adultery

with Bathsheba, in the *fiftieth* year, — and Ps.lxxii. (E.3,J.1) —or, rather (E.1,J.0), since v. 18,19, are merely the doxology (228), added by the compiler in later days, to serve as a close to Book II of the Psalms, — which is entitled ‘A prayer for Solomon,’ and, if written by David, may have been composed by him shortly after Solomon’s birth, in the *fifty-first* or *fifty-second* year of his life.

360. Looking now at the above table, is it conceivable that David should have written the above eighteen Psalms, or any number of them, — in which the name Elohim occurs, on the average, *seven* times to Jehovah *once*, and in *nine* of which Jehovah does *not occur at all*, if the latter name was used so freely, so much more freely than Elohim, and under such high sanction, in the common language of the people when he wrote, as the historical books with one voice imply? Nay, every Psalm in this Book shows the same characteristic preference for the word Elohim. And, supposing as we naturally may before further inquiry, that all or most of them are Psalms of about the same age, as they are found in the same collection, and *that* age the age of David, as the titles of so many of them imply, it is obvious that the force of the above argument is just as strong, whether such Psalms were really written by David, or by any other pious writer of those days.

CHAPTER XIII.

THE PSALMS OF THE SECOND BOOK.

361. IN order, however, to make sure of our ground, we must now examine carefully, one by one, the Psalms of the Second Book, and see if they contain sufficient internal evidence to enable us to fix them, either upon David himself as their author, or else upon the age of David. Only let it be distinctly observed that *our argument does not in the least depend on the accuracy of the titles*, which for our own purposes we should rather at once set aside altogether, and try to make out the age of any particular Psalm from its internal evidence. But as HENGSTENBERG, one of the chief defenders of the ordinary view, is so very decided in maintaining their correctness, it seems best, with DAVIDSON, ii.255, to ‘assume the alleged Davidic authorship’ as being *possibly* true, ‘till internal evidence proves the contrary.’

362. The first eight Psalms, Ps.xlii–xlix, are inscribed, ‘Of or for the sons of Korah,’ except Ps.xliii, which has no inscription, but is plainly a continuation of Ps.xlii. It is disputed among critics what this expression means, — whether that they were written by members of the ‘Korah family,’ or composed by David or others, perhaps, in different ages, for their use as a choir, or (which seems most probable) only collected and preserved by the ‘sons of Korah.’ On either of these suppositions, some of these ‘Psalms of Korah’ may have been written by David himself, or his contemporaries.

363. Ps.xlii (E.13,J.1), and Ps.xliii (E.8,J.0), which evidently are parts of one single Psalm seem, at first sight, to refer to the Tabernacle or Temple (318) on Mount Zion in xlii.4, xliii.3, and in that case they must have been written in or after the time of David. And the tone of these Psalms is considered by some to

indicate that point of time when 'David, by Absalom's rebellion, was driven beyond Jordan,' (Bishop HORNE,) in the *sixty-fourth* year of his life. If this were true, it would follow that, even at that age, he could still write a Psalm with Elohim occurring in it *twenty-one* times, and Jehovah only *once*.

364. It may be questioned, however, if the tone of these Psalms is exactly that which suits the circumstances of Absalom's rebellion. They seem, rather, to express the same state of feeling as Ps. lxi.3, where also we find him uttering his ardent longings for the place where he might appear before God, just as he does here. The expressions in xliii.3, 'Thy holy hill,' and 'Thy tabernacles,' find their parallel in lxi.2, where he speaks of the 'holy place;' and that in xlii.4, the 'House of God,' may refer to the Sanctuary at Nob. I quote in support of this view the following extract from STANLEY's *Sinai and Palestine*, p.187:—

'The Mount of Olives was also, in the earlier times of Jewish history, when elevation and sanctity of position were almost identical, the *sacred place* of the vicinity of Jerusalem. Long before the conquest of Jebus by David, the northern summit of Olivet had, it would seem, under the name of Nob, been selected as the seat of the Tabernacle (?), after the destruction of Shiloh and the loss of the Ark. Close within sight of the unconquered fortress of the Jebusites, the worship of Israel was there conducted during all the earlier years of Saul; and, even after the destruction of the Sanctuary by his violence, the sanctity of the summit of Olivet was still respected. David, before the Temple was built, was wont to worship God at the top of the Mount, 2S.xv.32. Solomon, when, in his later years, he tolerated or adopted the idolatrous rites of his foreign wives, made 'high places' of the three summits 'on the right hand of the Mount of Corruption,' 1K.xi.7, 2K.xxiii.13, apparently the same northern summit of Nob.'

365. There appears to be no real ground for the above supposition of Canon STANLEY that the Tabernacle of Moses was set up at Nob. At all events, the Chronicler says it was set up at Gibeon, 1Ch.xxi.29, 2Ch.i.3, though we shall see good reason for doubting this statement also, when we come to consider hereafter the question of the history and fate of the Tabernacle. But, that there was a 'holy hill' and 'Tabernacle'* for divine worship at Nob, on the summit of the Mount of Olives, is highly probable: and it has been ingeniously suggested that as Goliath's sword was deposited at this Sanctuary, so David may be represented to have carried thither his head also, when he went to return thanks to God after his victory, and that this is the meaning of the otherwise perplexing statement in 1S.xvii.54, that 'David took

* The Psalmist, indeed, speaks of מִשְׁכְּנוֹת, 'tabernacles,' Ps.xliii.3, xlv.4, lxxxiv.1, which conveys rather the idea of a *group* of tents, a kind of Priestly encampment, distinct from the solitary מִשְׁכָּן of Shiloh, Ps.lxxviii.60, and Gibeon, 1K.ii.28, with its central אֹתֵל, and the vessels inside the אֹתֵל; and the same plural form is apparently used in Ps.cxxxii.6,7, of the Temple, with its chambers, 1K.vi.10.

the head of the Philistine, and brought it to Jerusalem,' (which was then in the possession of the Jebusites,) the Mount of Olives being close to Jerusalem.

If, however, the view here taken of the composition of these Psalms be correct, they were probably written by David, as well as Ps.lxiii, 'when he was in the wilderness of Judah,' at a much *earlier* period of his life.

366. In Ps.xlii.6 we read, 'O God, my soul is cast down within me: therefore will I remember Thee from the land of Jordan and of the Hermonites, from the hill Mizar.'

The expression 'land of Jordan' is generally understood to mean the country on the *east* of Jordan, — the Psalm being referred to the time of David's flight from Absalom, when he was driven beyond the river to Mahanaim, 2S.xvii.27. Certainly the above phrase does not *necessarily* mean the land *beyond* Jordan. It might just as well be used for the land on the *western* side of the river: and the wanderings of David were, doubtless, not confined to the wilderness of Judah. In fact, we find, 1S.xxv.43, that one of his wives was 'Ahinoam of Jezreel;' from which we should suppose that he was at one time in the neighbourhood of that place. Now close to Jezreel is the mountain which is called by travellers 'Little Hermon,' (though Canon STANLEY thinks erroneously,) to which reference is supposed to be made in Ps.lxxxix.12, 'The North and the South Thou hast created them; Tabor and Hermon shall rejoice in Thy Name.' It would seem that the Hermon here mentioned must have been to the south of Tabor, as the mountain in question is, whereas Great Hermon lies far away to the north-east. Hence this Psalm *might* have been written in the neighbourhood of Jezreel, not far from the Jordan.

367. But it seems more probable that the true explanation of the allusion may be this. In Jo.xi.3 we read of 'the Hivite under Hermon in the land of Mizpeh:' so that the land of Mizpeh in Gilead was reckoned to be under a spur of Mount Hermon. Now, in the time of David's greatest despondency, we read that he took his father and mother, through fear of Saul, to 'Mizpeh of Moab,' 1S.xxii.3,4, and gave them in charge to the king of Moab, who seems at that time to have been in possession of this part of Gilead. It is very possible that he may have written this Psalm on that very occasion. And then the Hebrew parallelism in Ps.lxxxix.12 will be maintained thus:

'The *North* and the *South* Thou hast created them;

'The *West* (Tabor) and the *East* (Hermon) shall rejoice in Thy Name.'

Nothing is known about the 'hill Mizar,' which may have been some eminence, of no great notoriety, in the land of Gilead.

If the above be true, it would fix the composition of the Psalm at that early part of David's life, when he was in dread of the consequences of having met Doeg at Nob, and had, probably, had some intimation already of his having reported him to Saul, to which reference may be made in Ps.xlii.1, 'O deliver me from the *man of deceit and iniquity!*'

368. On Ps.xliv (E.5,J.0), the comment in *Bagster's Comprehensive Bible*, is as follows:—

'This Psalm was evidently composed at a time when the Jewish people suffered greatly from their enemies, and when many were carried into captivity; though the state itself subsisted, and the public worship of God was maintained. The author, from frequently using the singular number, must have been of some eminence. And, as it would not sound well out of any mouth but that of the Prince himself, therefore either the Prince, or some one in his person, must have been the writer,—probably, as Bishop PATRICK supposes, Hezekiah,—and it would appear, from *v.15,16*, that it was written soon after the blasphemous message of Rabshakeh.'

If this view were correct, it would tend to show that, even in Hezekiah's time, the name Jehovah was not so commonly used by pious writers as the historical books imply: though an inference to this effect could not be confidently drawn from one single Psalm, where the fact observed might be accidental.

369. But this Psalm cannot be assigned with any certainty, or even probability, to Hezekiah's time, — more especially as it is found here in connection with so many other Psalms, which are undoubtedly of a much earlier date. In fact, it would correspond quite as well, or better, to the events of *Samuel's* time, when some years had passed after the people had suffered their great defeat, and they had 'lamented after Jehovah,' and had put away all strange gods, 'and served Jehovah only;' and then, when the Philistines went up against them, 'Samuel cried unto Jehovah for Israel, and Jehovah heard him.' 1S.vii.1-9. This very Psalm might very well express Samuel's bitter 'cry' on that occasion. And the expressions in *v.1*, 'We have *heard with our ears*, O God, our fathers have *told us*, what work Thou didst in *their days*, in the time of old,' would be much more suitable to the days of Samuel, when legends of the past were floating about among the people, than to those of Hezekiah four centuries afterwards, when, probably, such legendary tales had ceased, and, certainly, written books existed.

370. But may not this Psalm also have been written in David's time? We are generally in the habit of thinking of him as always victorious, because the history gives no account of his defeats. Yet Ps.lx, which seems to be undoubtedly, as it appears to us, a Psalm of David's, shows a state of alarm just like that which is expressed in the Psalm before us, and evidently implies that the forces of David had been routed, and disgracefully beaten. In Ps.lx, also, we have the same sorrowful complaints, as here, of God's forsaking the host of Israel, and not going forth, as of old, with their armies. Thus we read, *v.1*, 'O God, Thou hast cast us off, Thou hast scattered us;' *v.3*, 'Thou hast showed thy people *hard things*; Thou hast made us to drink the wine of astonishment;' *v.9,10,11*. 'Who will bring me into the strong city? who will lead me into Edom? Wilt not Thou, O God, which *hadst cast us off*? And Thou, O God, which *didst not go out with our armies*? Give us help from trouble, for vain is the help of man.'

371. HENGSTENBERG, *Psalm.ii.106*, takes the same view as we have taken above, of the connexion of this Psalm with Ps.lx.

'We are furnished with a secure starting-point for the historical exposition here in Ps.lx, which presents so many remarkable coincidences with this, both as to the

general situation and in expression, that the one cannot be separated from the other. While David carried on war in Arabia and on the Euphrates with the Syrians, probably at a time when he had suffered a heavy loss in battle from them, the Edomites, always intent upon turning the calamitous situations of Israel to account for the satisfaction of their hatred, made an irruption into the land. The small forces left behind in the land were not able to resist them. The greatness of the danger in which Israel was plunged, and of the injuries which he sustained, appears (though nothing is said of it in the books of Samuel beside communicating the result of the battle) from the incidental notice in 1K.xi.16, according to which Joab buried the Israelites, who had been slain by the Edomites, and who had lain till his arrival unburied: it appears also from the frightfulness of the revenge which David inflicted upon Edom, — ‘for six months did Joab remain there with all Israel, until he had cut off every male in Edom,’ 1K.xi.16.

‘Through these circumstances was the Psalm before us first called forth. The sons of Korah sang in the midst of the suffering, probably while the king was absent at the Euphrates. The words, ‘Thou hast scattered us among the heathen,’ v.11, contain nothing against this. For, though the other parts of the Psalm do not permit us to think of a *great* carrying away, yet a carrying away of a smaller sort occurred even in the most flourishing times of the state, nay, regularly in every hostile invasion, see Joel.iii.3, Am.i.6-9; and here, where express mention is made of the *killed*, we might confidently reckon on others being *carried away*.’

372. In v.2,3, there are references, apparently, to the popular legend, or perhaps, to the Elohistic story, of the conquest of Canaan: but there is no mention of the glories of David’s or Solomon’s reign, such as we might expect in a later Psalm. In v.4, the expression ‘Command deliverances for *Jacob*,’ seems also to point to the *undivided* empire of Israel; and the language of v.17,21, — ‘Yet have we not forgotten Thee, neither have we dealt falsely in Thy Covenant,’ — would suit very well the days of David, but would hardly have been used in those of Hezekiah, immediately after the wicked reign of Ahaz and the captivity of the Ten Tribes for their sins.

If this view be correct, this Psalm also must have been composed by David in the early part of his reign.

373. Ps.xlv (E.4,J.0) is generally considered to refer to the marriage of Solomon with Pharaoh’s daughter, in which case we should have to suppose it written in the very beginning of Solomon’s reign.

But there is this serious difficulty in the way of such a supposition, viz. the fact that Solomon had already a wife, Naamah, the mother of his successor, Rehoboam, 1K.xiv.21, — and, therefore, we must suppose, too great a person to be passed over in silence on this occasion, unless, indeed, she was already dead. The ‘queen in gold of Ophir,’ v.9, who stands ‘on the king’s right hand,’ cannot, of course, be Naamah, nor can she be the bride herself, who is evidently spoken of as the ‘king’s daughter,’ and is ‘to be brought unto the king’ with her maiden train.

374. Assuming, however, that it is a nuptial song, composed for the marriage of

Solomon, may it not have been written upon the occasion of Solomon's taking his *first* wife, Naamah, the Ammonitess? This marriage must have taken place in David's lifetime, since Rehoboam was born in the year before his death. We must believe that so dutiful a son did not marry without his aged father's approval. And it can scarcely be supposed that the king would allow his favourite son, the intended heir to his kingdom and glory, to marry a mere common Ammonitish captive, as might be imagined from the fact that David had taken Rabbah, the royal city of Ammon, and 'brought forth the people that were therein, and put them under saws, and under harrows of iron, and under axes of iron, and made them pass through the brick-kiln: and thus he did unto all the cities of the children of Ammon,' 2S.xii.31. But this took place *before* the birth of Solomon, since the account of that event in 2S.xii.24,25, is evidently inserted out of its proper place, in order to complete the story of David's conduct with Bathsheba. In fact, sixteen or seventeen years must have passed since the capture of Rabbah, which followed David's sin with Bathsheba, 2S.xii.26-31, (after which Solomon, the son of Bathsheba, was born,) before the young prince could have been of an age to have married Naamah.

375. In that interval what had become of the people of Ammon? We find them stirring in the latter part of the Jewish history, 2K.xxiv.2, 2Ch.xx.1, xxvii.5. So, too, in Jer.xlix.1, they are spoken of as flourishing, and taking possession of the cities of Israel: 'Concerning the Ammonites, thus saith Jehovah, Hath Israel no sons? Hath he no heir? Why then doth their king inherit Gad, and his people dwell in their cities?' Nay, at a much earlier period, in the time of Uzziah, we find the Prophet Amos threatening them and their king with ruin:— 'For three transgressions of the children of Ammon, and for four, I will not turn away the punishment thereof; because they have ripped up the women with child of Gilead, that they might enlarge their border. But I will kindle a fire in the wall of Rabbah, and it shall devour the palaces thereof, with shouting in the day of battle, with a tempest in the day of the whirlwind; and their king shall go into captivity, he and his princes together, saith Jehovah.' Am.i.13-15.

376. But we read also that, when David fled before Absalom, and was come to Mahanaim beyond Jordan, 'Shobi, the son of Nahash of Rabbah of the children of Ammon,' together with Machir and Barzillai,—

'brought beds, and basins, and earthen vessels, and wheat, and barley, and flour, and parched corn, and beans, and lentiles, and parched pulse, and honey, and butter, and sheep, and cheese of kine, for David, and for the people that were with him, to eat.' 2S.xvii.27,28.

Plainly, then, Shobi was himself in prosperous circumstances. His *father*, Nahash, had shown kindness to David, though his *brother*, Hanun, had behaved so shamefully to David's ambassadors, as to bring on this fierce retribution, 2S.x.1-5. But, though David captured the city, it does not appear that he *destroyed* it (at least, there is no sign of such destruction in 2S.xii.26, though the *Chronicler* states that Joab smote Rabbah and destroyed it, 1Ch.xx.1): and, though he humbled the people, there is no reason to suppose that he put them to death. It is plain that Shobi felt towards him as his father Nahash did; and it

is possible that he may have been placed by David in his brother's place over the children of Ammon, as a tributary king; or else he may have lived as a private individual, detached altogether from his people, and sharing neither in their insolent behaviour nor their ruin. At all events, we find him in apparently wealthy circumstances, and showing affection and gratitude to David in the time of his trouble. Bathsheba and Solomon were, no doubt, with David at this time, the young prince being about twelve or thirteen years old. Naamah was, perhaps, one of the royal house of Ammon, a *sister* or a *daughter* of Shobi; and, in either case, she may have been a 'king's daughter,' just as truly as the Egyptian princess. At this time she may have been seen and approved by David and Bathsheba, as a future bride for their son. Three or four years afterwards, we find Solomon married to Naamah, and it is to this marriage that Ps. xlv may very possibly refer.

377. It will be found that many of the difficulties now disappear, which attend the usual reference to Pharaoh's daughter. The author is, of course, not David, but some pious writer of the time. The king spoken of throughout is David himself, whose glory, and greatness, and goodness, and personal excellencies, the strength and justice of his reign, and the splendour of his royal apparel, are eulogised in v. 1-8. If it be thought that the language in v. 2, 'Thou art fairer than the children of men, grace is poured into thy lips,' is rather extravagant, when applied, even by an Oriental, to one of David's age at this time, yet it must be remembered that David in his youth is expressly described as being 'ruddy, and withal of a beautiful countenance, and goodly to look to,' 1S. xvi. 12; and he very probably may have retained, even in old age, the traces of this his youthful beauty. We have a parallel instance of such language being used, by a courtly writer, of one even older than David, in the following lines from the dedication to Queen Elizabeth, then nearly seventy years old, of his poem *On the Immortality of the Soul*, by Sir John Davies.

Fair soul, since to the *fairest body* joined,
 You give such lively life, such quickening power,
 And influence of such celestial kind,
 As keeps it still in *youth's immortal flower*, &c.

378. The expression in v. 11, in the Prayer-Book Version, 'for he is *thy Lord God*, and worship thou Him,' is only found in the Latin Vulgate, from which the P. B. Version is derived. In the Heb., Chald., Sept., Æthiop., Syr., and Arab., it is simply, 'for he is thy Lord (Adonai).' His court is described in v. 9; the 'queen in gold of Ophir' would then be Bathsheba, who 'stood on the king's right hand' to receive the bride; and so we read of her, that, when she came to speak with her son, as king, at the request of his brother Adonijah, 'the king rose up to meet her, and bowed himself unto her, and sat down on his throne, and caused a seat to be set for the king's mother, and she sat on his right hand.' 1K. ii. 19. Doubtless, among her 'honourable women' were 'daughters of kings,' the tributary kings, who owned the sway of David; and Naamah herself may have been numbered for a time with these.

379. In v.7,—‘Thy throne, Elohim, is for ever and ever,’—the word ‘Elohim’ would, in that case, be addressed to David himself, being used reverentially for the sovereign power, the supreme authority, considered as the representative of God. So the word is used in E.xxi.6, xxii.7,8, where it is translated ‘judges,’ and in E.xxii.28, where it is rendered ‘gods,’ in each of which cases the best rendering would be, as above, ‘the authorities.’ So also Ps.lxxxii.1, ‘God standeth in the congregation of the *mighty* (אֱלֹהִים, P.B.V. ‘princes’); He judgeth among the authorities’ (אֱלֹהִים, E.V. ‘gods’). This may also explain the expression in Zech.xiii.7, ‘Awake, O sword, against my shepherd, and against the man, *my fellow*, saith Jehovah of Hosts.’ He has already been speaking of the kings of Israel as ‘shepherds’: ‘three shepherds also I cut off in one month,’ xi.8; and he seems here to be threatening the reigning king, the representative, as it were, of the Divine honour and authority, with Divine vengeance.

380. In v.10–12 the song passes off into an address to the young bride. She is advised to forget her old connections, and attach herself to her new home: then ‘shall the king,’ her father-in-law, ‘greatly desire her beauty; for he is her Lord, and she must pay him due reverence.’ And ‘the daughter of Tyre shall be there with a gift;’ in other words, David’s friend, Hiram, the king of Tyre, shall send his marriage presents of purple; and high and low among the people shall pay their court to her.

Then in v.13–16 is described the bridal procession, the dress of the bride, ‘the king’s daughter,’ and the troop of maidens, who conduct her ‘with gladness and rejoicing’ to the ‘king’s palace.’

Lastly, in v.16–17, the song returns to the praise of David. Though he is the first of his line, and has no royal ancestors to boast of, yet ‘instead of his fathers he shall have children, whom he may make princes in all the earth: his name shall be remembered for ever, in the praises of the people.’

381. The only difficulty in the above explanation may be raised by the question, whether the verb used in v.11, and translated ‘greatly desire,’ can be used of such delight as a fond father might take in his daughter’s beauty. Now the fact is that the Hebrew verb אָוָה, here used, as well as the noun תַּאֲוָה, is *never* employed in the Bible of passionate feeling towards a woman. When it is said in E.xx.17, ‘Thou shalt not desire thy neighbour’s wife, another word, חָסַד, is used; and, in the kindred passage in D.v.21, the verb אָוָה, which is actually used of desiring house, and field, &c., is changed for the other, חָסַד, when reference is made to a wife. So in G.iii.16, ‘Thy *desire* shall be to thy husband,’ and in Sol. Song, vii.10, ‘I am, my beloved’s, and his *desire* is toward me,’ a very different word is used for desire (תִּשְׁקָה). On the other hand, both the verb and the noun *are* used of such desire as may be well expressed by delight. Thus Ps.cxxxii.13,14, ‘for Jehovah hath chosen Zion; he hath *desired* it (P.B.V. ‘longed for it’) for his habitation. This is my rest for ever; here will I dwell; for I have *desired* it’ (P.B.V. ‘I have a *delight* therein’). So, G.iii.6, ‘And when the woman saw that it was pleasant (a *desire*) to the eyes,’ &c.

382. Ps xlv (E.7,J.3), Ps.xlvii (E.8,J.2), Ps.xlviii (E.8,J.2), appear to have been

written upon days of rejoicing for some great victory, such as those gained by Joab and David himself over the very formidable confederacy of Syria and Ammon, of which we read in 2S.x. On these occasions, probably, the king went in procession to the Tabernacle on Mount Zion, to return thanks to God. The 'kings assembled,' Ps.xlviii.4, may have been those mentioned in 2S.x.6,15,16,19. On Joab's return from the first, and David's from the second, of these victories, — when 'all the *kings*, that were servants to Hadarezer, saw that they were smitten before Israel, and made peace with Israel, and served them,' — David may have written these Psalms, just before his sin with Bathsheba.

383. Ps.xlix (E.2,J.0) contains nothing which points to the age of the writer.

Ps.l (E.10,J.1) is inscribed 'a Psalm of Asaph.' Asaph, according to 1Ch.xxv. 1-6, was one of the three leaders of choirs, Heman, Asaph, Ethan or Jeduthun, whom 'David set over the service of song in the House of Jehovah, after that the Ark had rest,' 1Ch.vi.31. And in 2Ch.xxix.30, we read that 'Hezekiah commanded the Levites to sing praise unto Jehovah with the words of David, and of Asaph the seer.' Whether written *by* or *for* Asaph, this Psalm may, very possibly, have been composed in the age of David, since it contains in v.2 a reference either to the Tabernacle or the Temple on Mount Zion, — 'Out of Zion, the perfection of beauty, God hath shined.'

CHAPTER XIV.

THE PSALMS OF THE SECOND BOOK (CONTINUED).

384. THE next fifteen Psalms are described by their titles as 'Psalms of David;' and there is nothing in any one of them which indicates that they are *not* rightly assigned to him as author, while in some cases the internal evidence of his authorship seems to be convincing.

Thus Ps.li (E.6,J.0) is, we can scarcely doubt, the genuine utterance of David's 'broken spirit,' when he came to repentance after his grievous sin. In this Psalm he does not once use the name Jehovah. It would seem as if, in the anguish of his soul, he had recourse to the old familiar name, Elohim, as a more *real* name, a name dear to him from old associations, one which he had used all along in his childhood and youth, and in the better days of his ripened manhood, rather than to the more modern name, Jehovah, of new creation.

385. Dr. DAVIDSON, however, observes on this Psalm as follows, ii. 253:—

The fifty-first psalm is post-Davidic, as the two last verses prove,— 'Do good in Thy good pleasure unto Zion: build Thou the walls of Jerusalem. Then shalt Thou be pleased with the sacrifices of righteousness, with burnt-offering and whole burnt-offering; then shall they offer bullocks upon Thine altar.' It is true that they are but loosely appended to the preceding context, and are therefore considered, by many, a later addition. That hypothesis is probably groundless. The psalm was written at a time when the City and Temple of Jerusalem were thrown down. Both *Zion* and the *walls* of the capital are expressly mentioned. Hence the attempts, that have been made to force the meaning into union with David's crime in relation to Bathsheba, are unworthy of notice. The psalm shows a right sense of sin as com-

mitted mainly against God, and a thorough feeling of the worthlessness of external sacrifices, apart from purity of heart or rectitude of motive. Whether views so near the Christian ones were entertained by any Jew as early as David's time is doubtful. A later than David seems to be required by the apprehension of sin, as well as the state of Jerusalem, implied in the poem. The beginning of the Babylonish Captivity is the probable date.

386. HENGSTENBERG writes on this Psalm as follows, ii. p.182:—

That the Psalm was composed by David on the occasion [of his sin with Bathsheba], appears from the superscription, and also from the wonderful agreement of the contents with 2S.xi,xii. That we have to do here with a sinner of *high rank*, is probable even from v.13, 'Then will I teach transgressors Thy ways, and sinners shall be converted unto Thee,'—according to which the compassion to be shown to the Psalmist shall operate beneficially through an extensive circle,—but quite certain from the conclusion, v.18,19. That the Psalmist there passes on to pray for the salvation of the whole people, presupposes that this salvation was personally connected with himself, that the people stood and fell with him. In v.14 the Psalmist prays for deliverance from *blood-guiltiness*. Such guilt David had incurred through the death of Uriah occasioned by him, and Nathan had threatened him in the Name of God with the divine vengeance for it. This is the more remarkable from the circumstances of the case being so singular. Of a true worshipper of God—[much less of a *pious king*]*—*the whole history of the Old Testament contains nothing similar.

387. EWALD, p.247, assigns this Psalm to some time after the destruction of the Temple. OLSHAUSEN, p.226, to the times of the Maccabees. HUFFELD writes as follows, iii.p.3:—

Against the reference [to David's sin with Bathsheba] may be urged the manner in which, v.3, &c., the fundamental idea is expressed of more *spiritual* sins, punishable by God and not by man, and the *inner* uncleanness of human nature. The phenomena usually produced by those who deny this reference (*e.g.* DE WETTE, HIRTIG, EWALD),—as the 'disjointed, abrupt, language,' the multitude of sins, and that here we find the first entreaty for forgiveness of sin, which was already disclosed to David, the obviously later idea of 'the original sinfulness of man,'—are partly without any foundation, resting only on narrow views of interpretation, and partly not decisive. Only the prayer, v.18, 'for the building of the walls of Jerusalem,' which assumes their destruction, is manifestly irreconcilable with the notion of its having been composed by David. Yet is this conclusion very loosely appended, and hence it is explained by several interpreters as a later addition. If it is genuine, then the Psalm must belong to the time after the Babylonish Captivity.

388. The above reasoning, however, does not appear to me to be convincing. I can see no reason to suppose that such a man as David may not have had a deep spiritual apprehension of the evil of sin, sufficient to account for his language in this Psalm; and if so, surely, the connection between *v.17* and *v.18,19*, is most natural and intimate. The only 'sacrifice,' which *he* can presume to bring, in the consciousness of his great crime, and in the deep sense of God's forgiving mercy, is 'a broken spirit': 'a broken and a contrite heart, O God, Thou wilt not despise.' Yet, if God will bless His chosen City, not for its guilty king's sake, but of His own free grace, and in His own 'good pleasure' will 'do good to Zion,' then would abundant and acceptable offerings be made by the righteous zeal of its inhabitants, such as his sorrowful and shame-stricken spirit could not think of bringing.

In *v.18* there seems to be no reference to the 'walls of Jerusalem' being broken down and in ruins, but only to their being *feeble*, needing to be 'built up' and strengthened, the language being used metaphorically, (as in *Ps.cxlvii.2*, 'Jehovah doth build up Jerusalem,' compared with *v.13*, 'For He hath strengthened the bars of thy gates,') with reference to the fact that David had taken the stronghold of Zion, and made Jerusalem his royal city, only *twelve* years before, and that there were still powerful enemies by whom his kingdom was threatened, as, for instance, the Ammonites, *2S.xii.26-31*.

389. *Ps.lii* (E.5,J.0).

The title of this Psalm is, 'A Psalm of David, when Doeg the Edomite came and told Saul, and said unto him, David is come to the house of Ahimelech.' If this title be correct, the Psalm may have been written when David had heard that Ahimelech and the Priests at Nob had been summoned by Saul to give account of their doings, and when he hardly expected such a fearful catastrophe as the massacre of the Priests, and the destruction of the Sanctuary. In *v.8* we read, 'I am like a green olive tree in (or by) the House of God.' If Nob was on the Mount of Olives, as is generally supposed (364), there were doubtless olive-trees growing luxuriantly around the Sanctuary.

390. Ps.liii (E.7,J.0).

In v.6, we read: — 'O that the salvation of Israel were come out of Zion! When God *bringeth back the captivity of His people*, Jacob shall rejoice, and Israel shall be glad;' and, from the expressions here used, some have supposed that this Psalm was written during the Babylonish Captivity.

But we observe —

(i) Zion would hardly be appealed to in this way during the Captivity; it would hardly be spoken of, as the place from which the 'salvation of Israel' was to be looked for, except at a time when the Tabernacle or Temple was standing upon it.

(ii) The phrases '*Jacob shall rejoice*,' '*Israel shall be glad*,' seem to point to the time of the undivided kingdom.

(iii) The phrase *שוב אֶת-שִׁבּוֹת*, 'bring back or turn back the captivity,' ('return to the captivity,' HENGSTENBERG,) is used metaphorically for 'restoring again prosperity,' as in Job xlii.10, 'And Jehovah turned again the captivity of Job:' see also Zeph.ii.7.

Hence there is no reason to doubt that this also may be a 'Psalm of David.'

391. Ps.liv (E.4,J.1); Ps.lv (E.6,J.2).

Ps.lv contains the expression 'city,' v.9, — 'I have seen violence and strife in the city,' — and 'House of God,' v.14, — 'We walked unto the *House of God* in company,' — which perhaps imply that the writer was living in Jerusalem, and in the habit of frequenting the Tabernacle or the Temple. This Psalm is commonly referred to the time of Absalom's rebellion, because it is supposed that v.13,14, refer to Ahitophel: — 'It was thou, a man mine equal, my guide and my acquaintance; we took sweet counsel together, and walked unto'—rather, *in*, *בְּבֵית*—'the House of God in company.' But, when it is considered that Ahitophel was Bathsheba's grandfather, 2S.xi.3,xxiii.34, and had received, therefore, a deep personal injury from David's crimes, we can scarcely wonder at his joining the rebellion of Absalom, and we should hardly expect the conscience-smitten king to speak of his old friend and counsellor, under all the circumstances of the case, in the severe language of this Psalm: — 'Let death seize upon them, and let them go down quick into the grave,' v.15, — 'Thou, O God, shalt bring them into the pit of destruction; men of blood and deceit shall not live out half their days,' v.23. Besides, such words as these must surely have included his darling son Absalom as well, for whose life he watched so tenderly.

392. Rather, Ps.lv seems to suit exactly the circumstances of David in an earlier part of his life, when he had 'seen violence and strife in the city,' i.e. Gibeah, where he dwelt with Saul, and whence he fled, with his wife's assistance, to Ramah, 1S.xix.18, and then, being still pursued by Saul, fled again and returned to Jonathan, apparently to Gibeah, 1S.xx, where Jonathan made trial of his father's temper, and was obliged to confess that he had a deadly purpose against him. So David 'arose and departed, and Jonathan went into the city.' David then fled to Nob, 'the city of the Priests,' and there met Doeg, with whom, as one of Saul's principal officers, 'set over his servants,' 1S.xxii.9, 'the chiefest of the herdmen that belonged

to Saul,' xxi.7, he was, no doubt, well acquainted, and may have had closer intimacy with him from the fact, that he himself had once been similarly occupied in tending his father's sheep. When at Nob, he may have 'taken sweet counsel' with him, admitted him into his secrets, spoken to him about his own troubled affairs, and 'walked in the House of God,' i.e. the Sanctuary at Nob, — among the 'olive-trees' (364,389), it may be,—in company with him, without having any doubt as to his friendship and good-will. Thus Doeg may have come to be present, as the story evidently represents him to have been, 1S.xxii.10, when the Priest Ahimelech gave food and Goliath's sword to David. Otherwise, if any suspicion had been entertained of his intentions, David would have managed, we may suppose, more cautiously. As it was, however, he seems to have felt that he had committed himself with Doeg, and to have had some presentiment of evil from that quarter, 1S.xxii.22, — 'I knew it that day, when Doeg the Edomite was there, that he would surely tell Saul.'

393. Thus we may account for so much being said about 'deceit and guile' in this Psalm, as in v.11,23. So v.20,21, 'He hath put forth his hands against such as be at peace with him; he hath broken his covenant. The words of his mouth were smoother than butter, but war was in his heart; his words were softer than oil, yet were they drawn swords.' And when he heard of the massacre of the Priests at Nob, which arose through Doeg's treachery, he may well have written, 'My heart is sore pained within me, and the terrors of death are fallen upon me. Fearfulness and trembling are come upon me, and horror hath overwhelmed me. And I said, O that I had wings like a dove! for then would I flee away and be at rest. Lo, then would I wander far off, and remain in the wilderness.' v.4-7. And, accordingly, we find him shortly afterwards taking refuge in the wilderness of Judah, 1S.xxiii.14.

394. Ps.lvi (E.9,J.1), Ps.lvii (E.7,J.0), Ps.lviii (E.2,J.1), Ps.lix (E.9,J.3), contain no particular note of time, except, perhaps, the phrases, 'God of Israel,' 'God ruleth in Jacob,' lix.5,13, which seem to point to the *undivided* kingdom; but their contents do not at all disagree with the statements made in the titles, that they were composed by David.

395. Ps.lx (E.5,J.0), however, is beyond all doubt, as it appears to me, referred by its title to the true occasion on which it was composed, and of which we read the account in 2S.viii.3,13, in the *forty-fifth* year of David's life. The fact that in v.7 the writer speaks of his authority as extending over 'Gilead and Manasseh,' i.e. the trans-Jordanic tribes, as well as that of his calling Ephraim 'the strength of his head,' and Judah, his own royal tribe, 'his lawgiver,' seems to point, in our judgment, with certainty to David as its author.

396. DAVIDSON, however, ii.252, considers that this Psalm also 'is much later than David's time,' grounding his conclusion upon these two points :—

(i) 'v.1-3 shew a very unprosperous state of affairs. The people had experienced great disasters, and were discomfited. The marks of the Divine displeasure were palpable. But the country was not in so disordered a state, at the time of the Syrian war, as is here represented.'

Ans. As in (370), it is very possible that David's forces were not always victorious, in the deadly struggles in which he was engaged while establishing his empire, though such defeats may not have been recorded in the rapid summary of his exploits in 2S.viii. The whole account in 2S.x shows that this time of the Syrian war was a most critical time for him, as, indeed, Joab's words intimate, v.12,—'Be of good courage, and let us play the men, *for our people, and for the cities of our God*; and Jehovah do that which seemeth Him good!'

(ii) 'Besides, David already possessed the whole land of Canaan. He could not, therefore, appeal in v.6-8, to the promise of Jehovah, that his people should conquer and possess it.'

Ans. The language of these verses may only express David's confidence that his kingdom should be permanently confirmed over the tribes of Israel, in accordance with the words of Nathan, 2S.vii.4,17, where the prophet says to him, in the name of Jehovah, 'Thine house and thy kingdom shall be established for ever before thee; thy throne shall be established for ever.' And, as above observed, the words of v.7 seem only applicable to the time of David.

397. HENGSTENBERG observes on this Psalm, ii.p.276 :—

'The sketch of the historical circumstances, by which this Psalm was called forth shews that it moves within the same domain as Ps.xliv. Ps.xliv is the earlier of the two; the sons of Korah sang [that Psalm] in the midst of distress, probably whilst David was absent at the Euphrates; David *followed* them [in this] after succour had been in some measure obtained. 'The liveliness of our Psalm, its rapid transitions, v.6-8, its brief yet comprehensive language, prevent us,' says HIRZIG, 'from entertaining for one moment the idea that its *authorship* is the same as that of Ps.xliv.' The warlike, confident tone, the triumphant contempt of the enemy expressed in v.8, point to a time of highest prosperity in the state. And, in particular, the reign of *David* is indicated by the circumstances that the three hostile neighbouring nations, mentioned in this verse, were all singularly defeated by David, and that in v.6,7, the countries on both sides of Jordan, and also Ephraim and Judah, appear as united in one kingdom, of which kingdom Judah was the head—a state of matters which ceased to exist immediately after Solomon, to whose time, however, it is impossible to refer the Psalm, on account of the prevailing warlike character by which it is distinguished. Finally, it is evident, from v.9-13, that the Psalm was composed in view of an *expedition against Edom*.

398. Even EWALD, p.374, who places the date of its composition *after* the Captivity, considers that *portions of it are of the Davidic age*:—

Ps.lx shows at once that poetry in these sorrowful times (of the Captivity) calls to its help also the force and expression of the ancient poetical science: for, on close examination, there can be no doubt that the words from v.5(7), as far as the first half of v.10(12), are *borrowed from an older, and, no doubt, Davidic song*. While all the other words quite fall in with the language and state of affairs of this later time, those on the contrary are quite distinct in kind and colouring, subject-matter and meaning; the dissimilarity strikes the eye at the first glance. The *old* passage proceeds in the following strain: at the time of great pressure in the latter part of David's life, when the Philistines fiercely threatened, comp.2S.v.17-25, xxiii.9,&c., and the king in the Sanctuary had besought counsel and strength from Jehovah, he records here thankfully the cheering response which he received while struggling with his doubts and distress. How easily a later writer might apply this to the needy and oppressed circumstances of his own time, is obvious; if then, it is true, *Philistines* were not exactly the enemies to be dreaded, yet were they *heathens*, and 'Philistines' are treated as equivalent to 'heathens.' While, however, the later poet repeated the oracle, as the very centre and life of the whole, untouched and completely unaltered, and even produces something of the context, (v.9(11), and the first three words of v.10(12),) he adds quite a new introduction, and the chief part of the conclusion, in his own words,—incontestably because the beginning and the remainder of the conclusion of the old song did not sufficiently suit this later time.

399. OLSHAUSEN assigns this Psalm to the time of the Macabees, but remarks, p.263:—

That the oracle quoted by the Poet in v.6-8 is only *borrowed*, must in any case be assumed. That it contained, however, a revelation then generally known, perhaps, resting on the authority of the High Priest, and referring to the relations of the time, is much more probable than that it is derived from a Davidic song, as EWALD supposes.

HUFFELD writes as follows, iii.p.122:—

This Psalm seems to point to the times of the still-existing kingdom, but to a later time [than that indicated by the Title], since the promise in the oracle expresses the idea so common in the Prophets, of *the restoration of the unity of the kingdom*, which is preceded by an account of the division of the kingdom and its sorrowful consequences.

Upon careful consideration, however, of its contents, and for

the reasons above stated, I cannot doubt that the Psalm in its entirety is, as HENGSTENBERG maintains, a product of the Davidic age, and, probably, from the hand of David himself.

400. Ps.lxi (E.3,J.0); Ps.lxii (E.7,J.0).

Ps. lxi.4 refers to the 'Tabernacle,' figuratively, — 'I will abide in Thy Tabernacle for ever; I will trust in the covert of Thy wings.' In v.6,7,8, we read 'Thou wilt prolong the *king's* life, and his years as many generations. He shall abide before God for ever; O prepare mercy and truth, which may preserve him. So will I sing praise unto Thy Name for ever, that I may daily perform my vows.' These words are generally supposed to be a prayer made by David for himself as king. But may they not be a loyal prayer for the life of Saul, his father-in-law?'

401. Ps.lxiii (E.3,J.0), according to the title, was written, 'when David was in the wilderness of Judah,' in the early part of his life. In v.2 we find a reference to the Sanctuary, — perhaps that at Nob, which, however, was now destroyed, 1S. xxii.19, — 'to see Thy power or Thy glory, so as I have seen Thee in the Sanctuary.' The P.B.V. has, however, 'Thus have I looked for thee *in holiness*, that I might behold Thy power and glory,' — where this difficulty is avoided. In v.11 we read, 'But the *king* shall rejoice in God.' This is usually explained to mean that David speaks of himself as *king hereafter*, having such entire confidence in the fulfilment of the Divine Promise. But this interpretation can hardly be correct. It seems much more natural, and more in accordance with what we know of the character and conduct of David, that here too he should have drawn a line between 'the king,' his father-in-law, 'God's anointed,' — whom he always treated with so much respect and reverence, of whom it would have been a sin for him to have thought or spoken evil, much less to have wished him dead, — and his other enemies, with reference to whom he says, v.9,10, 'Those that seek after my soul to destroy it, shall go into the grave (lit. lower parts of the earth). They shall fall by the sword; they shall be a portion for foxes. But *the king* shall rejoice in God.'

If this explanation be not approved, the title must be considered incorrect.

402. Ps.lxiv (E.3,J.1); Ps.lxv (E.3,J.0).

If Ps.lxv belongs to David's time, then the expressions in v.1, 'Praise waiteth for Thee, O God, in *Zion*,' and v.4, 'Thy Courts,' 'the goodness of Thy House, even of Thy Holy *Temple*,' must be understood to refer to the *Tabernacle* on Mount Zion. So in 1S.i.9 the Tabernacle at Shiloh is called the *Temple* of Jehovah.

403. Ps.lxvi (E.8,J.0) is not ascribed to any one, but may have been written by David, or any of the Prophets of that age. In v.6 there is a reference to the story of the Exodus, — 'He turned the sea into dry land; they went through the flood on foot; then did we rejoice in Him.' We suppose that, before the reign of David, Samuel had compiled his account of the Exodus, which, doubtless he had communicated to the Prophets of his School, as well as to David, and other leading men of the time. Thus a general notion of the story, as there told, would gradually be

propagated among the people at large, without the necessity of supposing that copies of the Elohist document were multiplied, and in the hands of many. It is quite possible, indeed, that only one manuscript existed.

Ps.lxvii (E.6,J.0) is also unappropriated. It was plainly meant for public purposes and may have been written by David. Here, however, if anywhere, in v.6, we should expect to find the word *Jehovah*, if it was familiar to the writer. 'Elohim, our Elohim, shall bless us,' would have certainly stood as 'Jehovah, our Elohim, shall bless us,' in the composition of a later writer (300).

404. Ps.lxviii (E.31,J.4) shall be considered at length in the next chapter.

Ps.lxix (E.9,J.5) contains the passage, v.35, 'God will save *Zion*, and will build the cities of *Judah*,' which slightly, perhaps, confirms the title ascribing it to David. It may have been written in the time of his great distress by reason of Absalom's rebellion.

Ps.lxx (E.3,J.2) may be one of David's later Psalms. The language of it, especially in v.5, corresponds exactly to his distressed, and even needy, state, when he fled before Absalom to Mahanaim.

Ps.lxxi (E.9,J.3) is not ascribed to David, but seems to have been written by him in his time of affliction, as it corresponds precisely in tone with the preceding two Psalms, which are both ascribed to him. In this he speaks, v.9, of his 'old age' and 'failing strength,' and in v.18 of his being 'old and greyheaded.' Hence this Psalm, and the last two, may have been written by him within the last few years of his life. And yet in these he still uses Elohim more freely than Jehovah, though in Ps.lxix the latter Name occurs more frequently in proportion to the former than in any other of the Psalms we have been considering, and in Ps.lxx we have Elohim *thrice*, Jehovah *twice*. *

Ps.lxxii (E.3,J.1), or, rather, (E.1,J.0), if we omit the doxology (228), is not ascribed to David, but may have been written by him, or by one of the prophets of his age.

CHAPTER XV.

THE SIXTY-EIGHTH PSALM.

405. Ps.lxviii (E.31,J.4), is undoubtedly a Psalm of David's, as the title declares, and we must call attention specially to it, as *one of great importance with reference to the question now before us.*

That this Psalm is unquestionably a Psalm of David's age appears as follows.

(i) In *v.16*, 'This is the hill which God desireth to dwell in, yea, Jehovah will dwell in it for ever,' we have a plain reference to the hill of *Zion*; but this, as we have seen (321), does not necessarily point to the *Tabernacle*, and so to the age of David.

(ii) In *v.29*, 'Because of Thy Temple at Jerusalem,' we have a reference either to the Tabernacle, 1S.i.9, or to the Temple; and so in *v.24* mention is made of the 'Sanctuary,' and in *v.35* we read, 'O God, Thou art terrible out of Thy holy places.'

(iii) In *v.34,35*, we read, 'Ascribe ye strength unto God; His excellency is over *Israel*,' and 'the *God of Israel* is He that giveth strength and power unto His people.' This language seems to belong clearly to the time of the *undivided* kingdom, so that the Psalm was composed in the days of David or Solomon.

(iv) But the martial tone which pervades the Psalm, *v.1,12,14,30,35*, corresponds to the age of David, not to that of Solomon.

(v) The expressions in *v.27*, 'There is little Benjamin their ruler, the princes of Judah with their company, (בְּנֵי יְהוּדָה), their

band, LXX. ἡγέμονες αὐτῶν, P.B.V. ‘their counsel’) the princes of Zebulun, the princes of Naphtali,’ belong also to the undivided kingdom, and correspond to the time when Benjamin, which, as the tribe of Saul, had been the ruling tribe in Israel, and had afterwards been ruling again in the person of Saul’s son, Ishbosheth, had now submitted itself to David. It may be, therefore, in a politic manner, spoken of here, as being still a tribe of royal dignity.

406. This Psalm contains Elohim *thirty-one* times, and Adonai, Lord, *seven* times, as well as the ancient name Shaddai in *v.14*; while Jehovah appears only *twice* and Jah *twice*. Manifestly, therefore, the last Name was less familiar to the writer at the time when he wrote, than Elohim, at all events,—we might almost say, than Adonai also; but it would not be safe to infer this last from a single instance.

In *v.4* we have ‘Sing unto God, sing praises to His Name: extol Him that rideth upon the heavens by His Name JAH, and rejoice before Him;’ or, in FRENCH and SKINNER’S translation,

‘Sing ye unto God, hymn His Name!

Raise a highway for Him, who rideth through the desert!

JEHOVAH is His Name;

Exult at His Presence!’

It is plain that a special stress is here laid upon the fact that God’s Name is Jehovah. Setting aside, as we must, from what we have seen already, the Mosaic story as unhistorical, this seems rather to imply that the Name had been newly introduced.

407. In *v.1* we have—

‘Let *Elohim* arise, let His enemies be scattered;

And let them that hate Him flee before Him.’

Here we have almost the identical words, which are found in N.x.35, ‘And it came to pass, when the Ark set forward, that Moses said,

‘Arise, *Jehovah*, and let Thine enemies be scattered;

And let them, that hate Thee, flee before Thee.’

But let it be noted that the Name *Jehovah*, in this passage of Numbers, appears as *Elohim* in the Psalm.

Now, from the general identity of the two passages, either in the E.V., or when compared, as below, in the original, it will be plain that *one of them has been copied from the other*.

Ps.lxviii. 1.

יְהוָה יִפְדֵּנוּ
יְהוָה יִפְדֵּנוּ
יְהוָה יִפְדֵּנוּ

N.x.35.

יְהוָה יִפְדֵּנוּ
יְהוָה יִפְדֵּנוּ
יְהוָה יִפְדֵּנוּ

408. Upon which we observe as follows:—

(i) Surely, if the *Psalmist* drew his language from so sacred a book as the Pentateuch, according to the ordinary view, must have been, he would not have changed the Name from *Jehovah* to *Elohim*.

(ii) Besides, the Name *Jehovah*, if it had really originated in the way described in the Pentateuch, would have been the very Name required for this Psalm, considering its character, as the Name of the Covenant God of Israel.

(iii) Moreover, v.1 of the Psalm is closely connected with the words that follow, and has all the appearance of being an original utterance, poured forth by the same impulse which gave birth to them.

(iv) But, if the passage from *Numbers*, as we believe, was written at a later date than the Psalm, at a time when the Name *Jehovah* was in common use, (which was evidently not the case when the Psalm was written,) it is easy to understand how David's words in this Psalm might have been first used, as most commentators suppose, when the Ark was brought up to Mount Zion, and might afterwards have been adapted by the writer of the passage in Numbers, with the change of the Divine Name, as fit words to be used with every movement of the Ark in the wilderness.

(v) Lastly, in the Psalm we have the *older* grammatical forms יְהוָה יִפְדֵּנוּ, יְהוָה יִפְדֵּנוּ, where the other has יְהוָה יִפְדֵּנוּ.

Upon the whole it can scarcely be doubted that this Elohistie Psalm was written *first*, and that in a later day the Jehovist adapted the first words of it,—which, perhaps, he had himself helped to chant, when the procession with the Ark wound its way up the hill of Zion,—to the story, which he was writing, of the movements of the host of Israel in the wilderness.

409. The following expressions of this Psalm are also noticeable :—

‘O God, when thou wentest forth before Thy people,
When Thou didst march through the wilderness,
The earth trembled,
Yea, the heavens dropped rain, at the Presence of God,—
Sinai itself trembled,
At the Presence of God, the God of Israel.’ v.7,8.

‘The chariots of God are thousands on thousands (E.V. twenty thousand, even thousands of angels);
The Lord (Adonai) is among them, as at Sinai, in the Sanctuary.’ v.17.

‘The Lord (Adonai) hath said, I will bring again from Bashan,
I will bring again from the depths of the sea.’ v.22.

The references in the above verses to the passage of the Red Sea, the transactions at Sinai, and, perhaps, the conquest of Bashan, show only that the Psalmist was acquainted with certain portions of the story of the Exodus, which had probably been already written by Samuel, who died fifteen years before the bringing up of the Ark, and may have composed his narrative many years previously, and may have communicated it to David.

410. The above references, however, occurring in a Psalm intended for a public occasion, imply also that those, who would be likely to join in chanting it, must likewise have been familiar, to some extent, with the story of the Exodus. These would not be the people generally, but only those who would take part in the procession,—the ‘sons of Heman, and Asaph, and Jeduthun,’ it may be, ‘who should *prophesy* with harps and psalteries and cymbals,’ 1Ch.xv.1,6, and who, doubtless, had had their train-

ing in the ‘School of the *Prophets*’ under Samuel’s direction, where they ‘prophesied’ in Samuel’s time, as well as in David’s, — that is, evidently, sang or chanted their psalms of praise, — ‘with a psaltery and tabret and pipe and harp before them,’ 1S.x.5.

411. These ‘sons of the Prophets,’ then, as well as any Priests, &c., taking part in the ceremonies, may have been quite familiar with the facts of the Elohist story, and even have helped already, by mixing with their own families and in other ways, to communicate them in some measure to the people. And, indeed, it is very conceivable that the people may have had among them, in a more imperfect form, the same traditionary remnants of past history, which the Prophet Samuel and his School may have used as the basis of their ‘Elohist story;’ *e.g.* Ps.lxviii.8, ‘the heavens also dropped,’ and Ju.v.4, ‘the heavens dropped, the clouds also dropped water,’—and the references to the storm of thunder and lightning at the passage of the Red Sea, Ps.lxxvii.16–19,—and Ps.lxxviii.9, ‘The children of Ephraim, being armed and carrying bows, turned back in the day of battle,’—of which facts we have no record in the Pentateuch, unless, indeed, a reference may be made to the last in D.i.44.

412. The E.V. of v.15,16, of this Psalm, is as follows:—

The hill of God *is as* the hill of Bashan,
 An high hill *as* the hill of Bashan.
 Why leap ye, ye high hills?
This is the hill *which* God desireth to dwell in,
 Yea, Jehovah will dwell *in it* for ever.

Thus translated, the ‘hill of God’ can only be understood to mean Mount Zion. But this hill was not remarkably high, and was not even the highest of the two hills of Jerusalem. Probably, the passage should be rendered thus:—

A lofty mountain (*lit.* mountain of God) *is* the mountain of Bashan,
 A mountain of many heights *is* the mountain of Bashan.

Why leap ye (in your pride), ye mountains of many heights?

This mountain (Zion) hath God chosen to dwell in,

Yea, Jehovah will tabernacle in it for ever.

N.B.—GESENIUS renders ‘why are ye envious’ instead of ‘why leap ye:’ the Hebrew word here used occurs only this once in the Bible.

413. It is probable that few English readers will be disposed to doubt that this Psalm, as well as Ps.li and Ps.lx, is really a Psalm of David’s age, or that it was composed for the occasion to which it is usually referred, the bringing up of the Ark to Mount Zion. HENGSTENBERG, of course, maintains strongly its Davidic origin, in common with the great body of commentators, ancient and modern. Nevertheless, there are some very able critics, as HUFFELD, EWALD, OLSHAUSEN, who assign to it a much later date; and, as it is a Psalm of so much importance in our present enquiry, it will be necessary to examine the grounds upon which they have come to this conclusion.

414. The matter has been treated of most fully by HUFFELD in his recent work, *Die Psalmen*, of which vol. iii, containing Ps. lxviii, was published at Gotha in 1860. As this work has been so lately issued, and the author has discussed in it at length the opinions of his predecessors, and has, in fact, exhausted the subject, it may be regarded as representing, generally, the views of this school of critics; so that, having duly weighed his arguments we may assume that we have fairly mastered all that can be said on that side of the question. I will annex, however, all the additional remarks, deserving notice, which I find in EWALD and OLSHAUSEN.

415. HUFFELD observes as follows:—

‘This is a hymn in lofty lyrical style, treating of *the entrance of God into His Sanctuary on Zion*, — (under the figure of the triumphal progress of a King, who, after conquest of the country, chooses and takes possession of his place of residence, this being introduced with a retrospective glance at the first leading of the people through the Arabian waste, and the conquest of the land of Canaan, but with allusion to ordinary victories and triumphal processions), — His revenge upon the enemies of His people, and His lordship over the nations of the earth, who in con-

clusion are required to join in the praise of God. Thus much is in general clear, and is admitted by most modern interpreters.' p.194.

'The occasion, which most immediately presents itself for this Psalm, is the removal of the Ark by David to Mount Zion, 2S.vi; and this is adopted by most of the ancient and later interpreters, to the time of ROSENMÜLLER. *It gives incontestably the best sense*, — rather, it is the *only* one, which suits not only the choice of Zion in opposition to Sinai and the heights of Bashan, v.15,16, and the historical retrospective glance at the earlier leading of God from Sinai onwards, as introductory to the triumphal entrance, but also the lofty expressions and sentiments connected with it. This is not at all contradicted by the signs of a warlike character, which some consider an objection; since God, as Leader and Guardian of His people, is above all things Warrior and Conqueror over its foes, and, in fact, must first make the conquest of its place of settlement in Canaan. However, it is contradicted (i) by the mention of the 'Temple' and 'Jerusalem,' v.29, (ii) by that of 'Egypt' and 'Ethiopia,' as lands conquered and paying homage, v.30, (iii) by the denunciation of vengeance upon enemies in all parts of the world, v.22-24, and (iv) by the whole later character of the Psalm.' p.196.

And HUPFELD expresses his own view, p.199, that 'in this Psalm we have the hope or promise of the return of the Jewish people from the Babylonish Captivity, and the reestablishment of the kingdom of God on Zion in a state of great power, — as it is announced in the later Isaiah, and in close correspondence therewith, perhaps, by the very same author, — in the form of a lyrical utterance, such as frequently occurs in the later Isaiah, in single spirited outbursts, in the midst of the prophetic discourse, but here formed into a complete hymn, *the most spirited, lively, and powerful, which we have in the whole collection of the Psalms.*'

Ans. (i) The very fact that this Psalm is admitted to be 'the most spirited, lively, and powerful,' HUPF. 'the grandest, most splendid, most artistic,' Ew. p.297, 'one of the most able and powerful,' OLS. p.286, in the whole book of Psalms, makes it highly improbable — almost incredible — that its author, evidently an original poet of great eminence, — 'in whom,' says OLS. p.288, who considers it to be a Maccabean Psalm, in 'spite of the difficulties which meet us in the attempt to understand it, one cannot but recognise a poet of remarkable genius,' — should have been willing to borrow two sentences from two other ancient documents, viz. v.1 from N.x.35, and v.7,8, from Ju.v.4. If we explain his introduction of the former by the fact that the words quoted are said to have been used of old at every movement of the Ark in the wilderness, — though the Ark appears to have vanished after the Captivity, and, therefore, it is not easy to understand how even the former passage could have been quoted by the later writer, supposed by those critics, — yet how can we account for his introducing the latter? Both these passages, however, as they occur in the Psalm, are in close connexion with the context, and have all the appearance of being part of the original effusion.

We have shown, in fact, in (408, 448, 472), that the Psalm was, in all probability, written *first*, and the passages in question copied from it by the later writers of N.x.35 and Ju.v.4.

(ii) In v.30 (29), according to our view, reference is not made to the *Temple*, but to the *Tabernacle* just erected by David. We may assume that this was a building of some architectural pretensions, to which the term **הֵיכָל**, 'temple,' might be applied, as here—a word which is only used with reference to buildings of some importance, as the palace of Ahab, 1K.xxi.1, or that of the king of Babylon, 2K.xx.18, Is.xxxix.7, and, constantly, of the Temple. But it is also used of the Tabernacle at Shiloh, 1S.i.9, iii.3, by the writer of the story of Eli, though in 1S.ii.22 he gives it the usual appellation, **אֹהֶל מוֹעֵד**, 'tent of the Congregation,' which is the *only* one used throughout the Pentateuch. This suggests that this writer may have actually seen with his own eyes the Tabernacle of David, and may have been accustomed to hear it commonly spoken of by the name **הֵיכָל**, 'temple,' which he here, accordingly, applies to the Mosaic Tabernacle.

(iii) It is hardly to be thought that the writer of this Psalm, living, as is supposed, amidst the woes of the Captivity, should be predicting here the *conquest* of Egypt and Ethiopia. But the fact is that in v.31 there seems to be no reference to any conquest, but only to the princes of these regions *showing respect and reverence* for the glorious, triumphant, God of Israel, and sending gifts to His Temple. We know that Solomon married Pharaoh's daughter, 1K.iii.1; and it is very probable that relations of some kind, not altogether unfriendly, may have existed between his father and the Court of Egypt. If not, it is easy to understand how expressions of this kind might be used with reference to these two great powers in the immediate neighbourhood of the kingdom of Israel.

(iv) There surely is no reason why a Psalm composed at the time when David was bringing up the Ark to Mount Zion, should not have contained such words as those in v.21–23, denouncing God's judgments upon the enemies of Himself and His people. The many foes of David's rising empire, with whom he was at war both before and after the bringing up the Ark, would abundantly explain such language.

(v) So far from the Psalm giving signs of a 'later character,' it seems to contain very strong indications of an archaic style and a very early origin.

(a) Its language is often very rough and abrupt, and in some places almost unintelligible, for want of those connecting links, and that polish and fulness of expression, which would have characterised a Post-Captivity Psalm: e.g. v.10,11, 13,14,17,18, &c.

(b) It contains several very uncommon words or grammatical forms:—v.2(3), **בְּהִנְדָּף**, v.6(7), **בּוֹשְׁרוֹת**, v.14(15), **עֲלָמוֹן**, v.15,16(16,17), **וַיִּבְנֶנּוּ**, v.16(17), **רָצַד**, v.17(18), **שִׁנְאָן**, v.27(28), **רִנָּמָה**, v.31(32), **חֲשִׁמְנִים**.

(c) It employs older grammatical forms with ו (408.v).

(d) It has the phrases, **שִׁירוּ לְאֱלֹהִים**, 'Sing unto Elohim,' v.4(5), 32(33), **בְּרַכּוּ אֱלֹהִים**, 'Bless ye Elohim,' v.26(27), **וְאָמְרוּ אֲדֹנָי**, 'Praise ye Adonai,' v.32(33), **בְּרַכּוּ אֲדֹנָי**, 'Blessed be Adonai,' v.18(19), **בְּרַחֵם אֱלֹהִים**, 'Blessed be Elohim,' instead of the **הַלְלֵי-יָהּ**, 'Hallelu-jah,' 'Praise ye Jehovah,' which would certainly have been found in a *later* Psalm, more especially at the *end*, as in

Ps.civ,cv,evi,exiii,cxv,cxvi,cxxxv,cxlv,cxlvii,cxlviii,cxlix,cl; whereas the last of the above four expressions occurs only once more in the whole Bible, viz. in v.20 of the Elohistie Psalm, Ps.lxvi (E.8,J.O), and the first, third, and fourth, are found nowhere else but in the Psalm before us.

(e) As HUFFELD says, p.197, 'the choice and possession of Mount Zion is the very centre, the essential and characteristic feature, of the Psalm,' which suits well with the occasion in David's time, to which it is usually referred.

(f) The mention of 'little Benjamin, their ruler,' v.27, seems to correspond best, as we have said (405.v), to the time when the tribe of Benjamin had only just been deprived of the royal dignity. by the death of Saul, and, after supporting for a time the cause of Saul's son, Ishbosheth, 2S.ii.9,15,25,31, had yielded to the counsel of Abner, 2S.iii.19, and taken part with David. It is difficult to see how this allusion could well have been made by one writing after the Captivity.

(g) The mention of *four* tribes only in v.27, 'Benjamin and Judah,' 'Zebulon and Naphtali,' as 'representatives of all Israel,' HUFFELD, p.233, is intelligible in David's time, when we observe that the former two were the chief *Southern* tribes, and the latter two, the chief *Northern*, while the great tribe of Ephraim occupied the central part between them, but is not so easily explained on HUFFELD's supposition, *ibid.* that we have here 'a prophetic idea of the reunion of the severed brother-kingdoms, and the restoration of the united kingdom of Israel.' Surely, Zebulon and Naphtali could not have been taken to represent, as HUFFELD supposes, the 'kingdom of Israel,' of which the only proper exponent was the tribe of Ephraim.

(h) In v.22 we read

'Adonai said, I will bring again from Bashan,
I will bring again from the depths of the sea.'

And these words are supposed by some, as OLSHAUSEN, p.294, to contain a promise that God would bring back the exiles from their wanderings in the *East* (beyond the hills of Bashan) and in *Egypt* (over the deep sea). HUFFELD, however, and EWALD explain them of bringing back into the power of Israel their fugitive enemies from all their places of refuge, from Bashan eastward and the Sea westward, and delivering them up into their hands for condign punishment, 'that their foot may be dipped in the blood of their enemies, and the tongue of their dogs in the same,' v.23, — an explanation which, of course, suits well with David's time, but hardly with the days of the Captivity.

416. Since, therefore, all HUFFELD's arguments, to prove the later origin of this Psalm, are in our judgment to be reversed, as indicating rather its *earlier* composition, we may recur with confidence to the usual supposition, which connects it with the removal of the Ark in David's time to Mount Zion, — the

occasion which, as HUPFELD himself says, ‘most immediately presents itself,’ and ‘gives incontestably the best sense’ for it, nay, ‘is the *only* one which suits’ certain features of the Psalm. Not without reason, then, DE WETTE ‘reckons this Psalm among the oldest relics of Hebrew Poetry, of the highest originality,’ HUPFELD, iii.p.201.

CHAPTER XVI.

THE SAME SUBJECT CONTINUED.

417. EWALD, who supposes Ps.lxviii. to have been written 'at the dedication of the second Temple,' observes as follows:—

'It bears all the marks of a song not flowing out of an instantaneous impulse and inspiration, but composed with design and much skill for a *certain end*' [the bringing up of the Ark?], p.297. 'It seems as if the poet had felt himself unequal to produce so lofty a song from his own resources; for the most beautiful and forcible passages in it are, as it were, flowers picked from old songs, which we in part find elsewhere in the O. T., and in part must suppose to have been once in existence. The whole is rather compiled out of a number of striking passages of older songs, as a new work firmly put together; and since many ancient passages are very abrupt, (as being known, perhaps, to the singers,) the explanation is often difficult. Where, however, we have the easily-recognised peculiar additions of the poet himself, there we see generally this later time plainly appear in the ideas, v.4,6,20,32, as well as in the *language*. So that whoever considers this double nature of the contents, and then the whole character of the Psalm, will not easily persuade himself that it dates from the time of the first dedication of the Temple under Solomon, or, generally, that it was composed earlier than the time when the second Temple was built. In an historical point of view also it is worthy of note that in v.28 only *four* lay-tribes are named as coming to the Temple, which in Solomon's time has no meaning. And we learn from this that already, 511 B.C., not only Benjamin and Judah, but also Zebulon and Naphtali, that is, inhabitants of northern Palestine and Galilee, attended the Temple on Zion.' p.298.

Ans. As to the latter point, the explanation, which we have given above (415.v.g) seems much more natural. But, with respect to the *later* 'ideas' and 'language,' for which EWALD gives certain references, the following are the passages in question as translated by himself.

v.4(5), 'Sing unto Elohim, sing praises to His Name;

Make a path (יָבֹרַךְ) for Him who travels through the desert

Named Jah, and rejoice before Him.'

Here a reference seems to be supposed to the *later* Isaiah, who writes:—

xl.3, 'Prepare ye the way of Jehovah,

' Make straight in the desert (בְּעֶרְבָה) a *highway* (מִסְלָה) for our God,
Where the word סֶלֶל is from the same *root* as מִסְלָה.

lvii.14, 'Cast ye up, cast ye up, (סֶלֶל, סֶלֶל), prepare ye the way;

Take up the stumbling-block out of the way of my people.'

lxii.10, 'Cast up, cast up, the highway, (סֶלֶל סֶלֶל מִסְלָה),

Gather up the stones, lift up a standard for the people.'

But in these two passages the path is to be made for the *people*, in the Psalm for *Elohim*. The expression seems to have been proverbial; but, if copied at all, the later Isaiah may have copied from the Psalm.

v.6(7), 'Elohim brings again home (מוֹשִׁיב בֵּיתָה) the dispersed;

The prisoners He sets free in gladness and wealth;

The rebellious only abide in the waste.'

Here again, apparently, there is supposed to be a reference to Is.lviii.7, 'And that thou bring home (תָּבִיא בֵּית) the poor that are cast out.'

v.20(21) 'Elohim is to us an Elohim for salvation;

And Jehovah Adonai

Has even from death a way of escape [for us].'

v.32(33) 'Ye kingdoms of the earth, sing unto Elohim!

Sing praises to Adonai!'

It is difficult to see what signs of a later date are contained in these words. I have shown above (415.v.d) that the expressions in v.32 rather indicate the contrary.

The only other additional argument which EWALD produces, to fix the composition of this Psalm in a late age, is that the expression first quoted from v.20, 'Jehovah Adonai has even a way of escape from death,' can *only* refer to the deliverance from the Captivity. But surely such a reference is neither necessary in this case, nor probable.

418. v.30,31,(31,32), are translated by EWALD as follows:—

'Restrain the beast of the reeds (Ew., HUPF., OLS., E.V. margin),

The host of bulls with the calves of the people,

That hastens on with pieces of silver;

Scatter the people that delight in war;

That so nobles may come out of Egypt,

And Cush (Ethiopia) in haste lift up his hands unto God.'

And he observes, p.304,* 'The wild reed-beast (*lion* or *tiger*, that is, the great King), who with the host of bulls, (mighty ones, chiefs), and the calves (weaker forces) of the people, hastens through fear to bring homage in silver-pieces, but, whilst he does this simply from fear, must first be punished and instructed, is, perhaps, a description of the then-existing warlike *Persian* kingdom, whose symbol is the Euphrates and Tigris, rivers on whose reedy banks lions abound.'

But it can scarcely be thought that this Psalmist, writing during the Captivity, was thinking of the vast Persian Empire being subjected in this way to the restored kingdom of Israel. If the 'beast of the reeds' is really the lion of the Euphrates and Tigris, it seems more reasonable to suppose that David was thinking of the forces of the *Assyrian* Empire, to the borders of which his own dominions are supposed to have reached, since Solomon is said to have 'had dominion over all on this side of the river (Euphrates),' 1K.iv.24, and we do not read of his making the conquest of these regions *himself*, so that he must have inherited the sovereignty, such as it was, from his father David. In that case, the 'troop of *bulls*' might very well represent the Assyrian captains. But it is hardly conceivable that even David, in the height of his glory, should have thought of Assyria becoming tributary to himself, or hurrying in fear to bring silver-pieces to the Temple.

Accordingly, HUFFELD draws attention to the fact, that the above translation disturbs completely the *parallelism* of the Hebrew poetry in the third and fourth lines, in which, in fact, there exists no parallelism of expression at present. He understands, also, (with OLS. and others), the 'reed-beast' to be the *crocodile*, or, perhaps, the *hippopotamus*, as the symbol of Egypt, and translates the two lines in question as follows:—

'Subject to thyself the rapacious of silver;
Scatter the people that delight in war;

reading קִרְאֵי לְבָרָא, בְּנֵי לְבָרָא for קִרְאֵי לְבָרָא, בְּנֵי לְבָרָא.

But v.31, as we have said, seems rather to imply that the princes of Egypt and Ethiopia would come with their presents to the Temple in a *friendly* way. However this may be, and whether the *Egyptian* or *Assyrian* king be meant by the 'reed-beast,' or, perhaps, the *Syrian* king of Zobah, Hadadezer, 'whom David smote, as he went to recover his border at the river Euphrates,' 2S.viii.3, the reference is certainly quite as intelligible, if written in the days of David, as in the time of the Captivity, or rather, much more natural and intelligible.

In v.9(10), the 'plentiful rain,' seems to refer to the 'manna,' which was 'rained from heaven' upon them, E.xvi.4, Ps.lxxviii.24; and in v.10 (11), instead of 'Thy congregation hath dwelt therein,' with HUFFELD should be read, 'Thy creatures (חַיֵּיהֶם = 'the quails') settled down among it (the host).'

419. HENGSTENBERG, i.334–364, considers, from the martial tone of the Psalm, 'that it was composed after one of David's great victories, as the conquest of Rabbah, 2S.xii.26–31, since, according to his view, the Ark' must have been in the field, v.1,24, and 2S.xi.11, 'The Ark and Israel and Judah abide in tents,' implies, as he thinks, that this was the case in the Ammonitic war. But the expression in 2S.xi.11 seems to be explained sufficiently by 2S.vii.2, 'See, now, I dwell in an

house of cedar, but the Ark of God dwelleth within curtains,' and v.6, 'I (Jehovah) have not dwelt in any house since the time that I brought up the children of Israel out of Egypt, even to this day, but have walked in a tent and in a tabernacle,'—without having recourse to the notion that the Ark was taken out from the Tabernacle on Mount Zion, and carried into the field again in David's days, as in the days of Eli, of which there is no sign whatever in the history. And the warlike character of this Psalm proves nothing against its being used at the bringing up of the Ark.

420. But HENGSTENBERG then makes the following remarks.

Modern criticism has attacked also this Psalm. Many, with EWALD at their head, would bring it down to a period after the Captivity, — a mistake which may well fill the mind with astonishment! The character of the language, and of the description, is sufficient to prove this. Böttcher says, 'From its Archaic language, its impressive descriptions, its fresh, powerful, tone of poetry, it belongs assuredly to the most remote age of Hebrew poetry;' and HIRZIG remarks, 'Before everything else the Psalm, to an attentive reader, conveys the impression of the highest originality. . . The poem may be pronounced with confidence to be as remarkable for its antiquity as for its originality.' The idea of EWALD, which he makes use of to counteract these considerations, viz. that the Psalm is made up of a series of splendid passages from poems now lost, must be characterised as merely an arbitrary one, at least so long as not one single passage can be pointed out, as borrowed from any of those pieces at present in our possession, which were composed after the time of David.

But the reasons drawn from the *matters of fact*, referred to in the Psalm, are much more decisive. Here it is of great importance to note that, v.27, Zabulon and Naphtali take part in the procession, next after Judah and Benjamin. After the Captivity, some of the descendants of the ten tribes might be found united with Judah; but assuredly there could be no such thing as the distinct tribes of Zabulon and Naphtali with their 'princes.' During the whole period, when the two divided kingdoms existed in a state of juxta-position to each other, there could have been no union between Benjamin and Judah and Zabulon and Naphtali; and, even supposing that they were sometimes united, by which HIRZIG would interpret v.27, yet, apart from the consideration that, next to Judah, Ephraim was the tribe that would have been named, and that the naming of the northern and southern tribes is equivalent to naming a part instead of the whole, especially when Ps.lx.7 is compared, — 'Gilead is mine, Manasseh is mine; Ephraim also is the strength of my head; Judah is my lawgiver,' — it is utterly impossible that these tribes could ever have marched in company as part of a triumphal procession to the Temple at Jerusalem.

We must, moreover, go higher than the division of the kingdom, to the time of *David*. For under Solomon there was no such war and victory as the Psalm before us refers to. Farther, the epithets applied to Judah and Benjamin in *v.27* can be explained only from the relations which existed in the time of David. The mention also of *Egypt*, as representing the power of the heathen world, shows that the Psalm was composed before the rise of the great Asiatic monarchies, especially the Assyrian, [rather before their coming into contact with Israel, for Semiramis reigned 1209 B.C., 160 years before David came to the throne.] Israel, too, appears everywhere as a warlike and victorious nation, comp. especially *v.21-23*; and an event such as that which, according to *v.18*, formed the subject-matter of the Psalm, could not have taken place subsequent to the Captivity.

The reasons which have been urged against the Davidic authorship of the Psalm are very trifling. By הֵיכָל 'temple,' is here meant, in the first instance, the holy tabernacle on Zion; and the temple of Solomon is to be considered as its continuation. Comp. Ps.*v.7*, *xlvi.9*, *lxv.4*. That in *v.30,31*, there are no traces whatever of a hostile relation to Egypt, which did not exist in David's time, and that Egypt is named simply as representing the might of the World as separated from God, which it still did in David's time, and continued to do until the rise [or extension] of the great Assyrian monarchy, is evident from the circumstance that Cush, *which never was in a state of hostility to Israel*, is named next after Egypt.

421. With reference to the strong Elohistic character of this Psalm, HENGSTENBERG observes, and this is all that he observes, *ii.p.339*,—

Instead of *Jehovah*, David uses *Elohim*; and this name is the one which is generally used throughout the Psalm. *Jehovah* occurs only *twice*, *v.16,20*, and *Jah twice*, *v.4,18*. The reason of this lies in the misuse of the name *Jehovah*, *which changed the name, that was itself the stronger, into the weaker* (!) In such passages *Jehovah* is in the back-ground, and the simple *Elohim* is equivalent to *Jehovah Elohim*; comp. the *Jah Elohim* in *v.18* (!)

Surely our own explanation of the phenomenon, which is too remarkable not to be noticed, is the most natural, and, indeed, it seems, the only rational, explanation of it.

422. We have now examined carefully all the Psalms of Book II, and have found that, while we can say very confidently of some of them, as Ps.*li*, Ps.*lx*, Ps.*lxviii*, that they were written by David about the middle of his life, there is reason to believe that *all* of them *may* have been written in David's time, and

very probably by David himself,—some of them, as the titles imply, in the *earlier* portion of his life, some in the *middle*, and some in the *latter* years of it,—and, at all events, by some one of that age.

With respect to the above three Psalms, however, li, lx, lxviii, it seems almost certain that they were written by David in the *fifty-first*, *forty-fifth*, and *fortieth*, year of his life, respectively. In the first two of these Psalms, he has not used Jehovah at all; in the third he has used Jehovah or Jah *four* times, but Elohim and Adonai *thirty-eight* times. The argument from this fact seems to be irresistible, unless it can be met by contrary evidence of a very decisive character, showing as certainly that David *did* write some Psalms in the early part of his life, which contain the name Jehovah at least as frequently as Elohim.

423. Here, then, we are met by the two excepted cases to which reference has been already made in (356), Ps.xxxiv and Ps.cxlii.

Ps.xxxiv is entitled ‘A Psalm of David, when he changed his behaviour before Abimelech, who drove him away, and he departed.’ Abimelech here stands, no doubt, for Achish: and this Psalm, supposing the title to be correct, would have been written in the *twenty-seventh* year of David’s life, and yet it contains Jehovah *sixteen* times, and Elohim *not once*,—contrary to all our other experience.

Upon this I remark as follows:—

(i) As already observed, we cannot depend upon the title in any case, unless it be supported by the contents of the Psalm.

(ii) HENGSTENBERG, who insists very strongly upon the general ‘correctness and originality of the titles,’ (see his note on Ps. xxx.1,) comments in this case as follows, note on Ps.xxxiv.1:—

It is not, however, to be imagined that David composed the Psalm, when immediately threatened by danger. In opposition to any such idea, we have the *quiet* tone which pervades it; whereas all the Psalms, which were immediately called

forth by a particular occasion, are characterised by a great deal more of emotion. Besides which, we have the unquestionably predominant effort to draw consolation and instruction for the Church from his own personal experience. Finally, we have the *alphabetical arrangement*, which never occurs in those Psalms, which consist of an expression of feelings immediately called forth by a particular object, but always in those, in which the prevailing design is to edify others.

The fact is, that David, when on some occasion, in the subsequent part of his history, his mind became filled with lively emotions, arising from the recollections of his wonderful escape, in reference to which he even here says, 'I will praise Jehovah *at all times*, His praise shall be *continually* in my lips,' made it the groundwork of a treasure of edification for the use of the godly in all ages.

HENGSTENBERG has here admitted all that is necessary to confirm our view of the case, viz. that this Psalm, if written by David at all, must have been written at a *later* period—it may be a *much* later period—of his life than the title would imply.

424. But there seems no reason to believe that this Psalm was written with any reference to David's escape from Abimelech or Achish. There is nothing whatever in its contents to bear out such a supposition. As HENGSTENBERG says, so calm and *artificial* a Psalm could not possibly have been written at a moment of extreme peril. And David passed through so many dangers in the course of his life, that it is very unlikely, to say the least of it, that he would be still referring back in later days to this particular occasion, as one of special peril and deliverance, even if the title would allow of such an explanation of its meaning, which, honestly interpreted, it certainly will not.

425. The title being thus shown to be inaccurate, we have, in fact, no reason for ascribing this Psalm to David at all. It may well be the thanksgiving of any pious writer of any age,—probably, however, of a man well advanced in years, since we read, v.11, 'Come ye children, hearken unto me, I will teach you the fear of Jehovah,' which would have hardly suited David at the age of twenty-seven, or for many years after.

And we actually have a Psalm composed by David, according to its title, on this very occasion, Ps.lvi, and in a very different tone,—one of anguish and fear, quite suitable to it; and in this

we have, as we might expect, Elohim *nine* times, Jehovah *once*.

426. Again Ps.cxlⁱⁱ is entitled ‘Maschil of David, a prayer when he was in the cave;’ and it contains Jehovah *three* times, Elohim *not once*.

On this I remark :—

(i) There is nothing whatever in the contents of this Psalm, which helps to fix it to this occasion.

(ii) We have here also a Psalm composed by David ‘while in the cave,’ Ps.lvⁱⁱ, and this, as we might expect, contains Elohim *seven* times, Jehovah *not once*.

(iii) It is most unlikely that, *on the very same occasion*, David should have written two Psalms, in one of which he never uses the word Jehovah, while in the other he never uses Elohim.

(iv) As we are sure that in the earlier part of his reign he *did* write Psalms without Jehovah, we conclude, until other evidence is produced to the contrary, that the title of Ps.lvⁱⁱ is most likely to be genuine, and that of Ps.cxlⁱⁱ fictitious.

427. And so writes HENGSTENBERG, the great defender of the genuineness of the Titles, iii.p.517.

That the situation indicated in the superscription was *not* the proper occasion of the Psalm, but that David here only applies what he then experienced for the edification of others, appears not simply from the expression ‘an instruction,’ in the front of the superscription, out of which the following words, ‘when he was in the cave,’ derive their more definite import, but still more from the fact, that the Psalm stands in close contact with the rest of the cycle of which it forms a part.

David sees in his desperate condition, ‘when he was in the cave,’ a type of the future condition of his race and of the Church. His cave-reflections he sets before them as an instruction. When it might come with them to an extremity—this is the posture of affairs contemplated—(and such must come, for it cannot go otherwise with the son than with the father, they too must have their Saul to withstand,)—they should still not despair, but pour out their complaint before the Lord.

428. In short, the very circumstance, that these two Psalms contain the name Jehovah so often, to the absolute exclusion of Elohim, is to my own mind, after what we have already seen, a clear indication that they cannot be ranked with the Psalms which we have been hitherto considering, and which were written at an earlier period of David's life. If written by David at all, of which there is no sign whatever, they must have been written *towards the close of his life*.

For it cannot be said that the peculiarity, which we have noticed in the earlier Psalms of David, arose from some idiosyncrasy of his own mind,—so that, while his predecessors and contemporaries and successors used freely the name Jehovah, David himself, for some reason, refrained from using it as frequently as the name Elohim all his life long. At all events, we shall find that certain Psalms, composed by him, according to their title and contents, *towards the end of his life*, exhibit a phenomenon the exact reverse of that which we have already observed, and are decidedly *Jehovistic*, so that sometimes the name Elohim does not even occur at all in them.

CHAPTER XVII.

THE REMAINING ELOHISTIC PSALMS.

429. THAT the reader may have the whole case before him, we shall now give a table of the five books of Psalms, marking, as before, with an asterisk those Psalms which are ascribed by their titles to David. We use also, as before, the letters E. for Elohim, God, J. for Jehovah, LORD, and A. for Adonai, Lord: but we do not reckon any instances, where Elohim is evidently used for 'gods' or 'princes,' or where Adonai is used of a mere man.

BOOK I. — (FORTY-ONE PSALMS.)

Ps.	E.	J.	A.	Ps.	E.	J.	A.	Ps.	E.	J.	A.	Ps.	E.	J.	A.
1	0	2	0	*12	0	5	0	*22	4	6	1	*32	0	4	0
2	0	3	1	*13	1	3	0	*23	0	2	0	33	1	13	0
*3	2	6	0	*14	3	4	0	*24	1	6	0	*34	0	16	0
*4	1	5	0	*15	0	2	0	*25	3	10	0	*35	2	8	3
*5	3	5	0	*16	1	4	1	*26	0	6	0	*36	2	2	0
*6	0	8	0	*17	1	3	0	*27	1	13	0	*37	1	15	1
*7	6	7	0	*18	11	16	0	*28	0	5	0	*38	2	3	3
*8	0	2	2	*19	1	7	0	*29	1	18	0	*39	0	2	1
*9	1	9	0	*20	3	5	0	*30	2	10	0	*40	4	9	1
10	4	5	0	*21	0	4	0	*31	2	10	0	*41	1	6	0
*11	0	5	0												

BOOK II. — (THIRTY-ONE PSALMS.)

Ps.	E.	J.	A.	Ps.	E.	J.	A.	Ps.	E.	J.	A.	Ps.	E.	J.	A.
42	13	1	0	50	10	1	0	*58	2	1	0	66	8	0	1
43	8	0	0	*51	6	0	1	*59	9	3	1	67	6	0	0
44	5	0	1	*52	5	0	0	*60	5	0	0	*68	31	4	7
45	4	0	0	*53	7	0	0	*61	3	0	0	*69	10	5	1
46	7	3	0	*54	4	1	1	*62	7	0	1	*70	3	2	0
47	8	2	0	*55	6	2	1	*63	3	0	0	71	9	3	2
48	8	2	0	*56	9	1	0	*64	3	1	0	72	3	1	0
49	2	0	0	*57	7	0	1	*65	3	0	0				

BOOK III.

(SEVENTEEN PSALMS.)

Ps.	E.	J.	A.	Ps.	E.	J.	A.
73	5	1	2	82	2	0	0
74	5	1	0	83	4	2	0
75	3	1	0				
76	4	1	0	84	8	7	0
77	9	1	2	85	2	4	0
78	15	2	1	*86	5	4	7
79	3	1	1	87	1	2	0
80	5	2	0	88	1	4	0
81	4	2	0	89	3	11	2

BOOK IV.

(SEVENTEEN PSALMS.)

Ps.	E.	J.	A.	Ps.	E.	J.	A.
90	2	2	1	99	5	7	0
91	1	2	0	100	1	4	0
92	1	7	0	*101	0	2	0
93	0	5	0	102	1	8	0
94	5	10	0	*103	0	11	0
95	2	3	0	104	3	10	0
96	0	11	0	105	1	6	0
97	0	6	1	106	4	11	0
98	1	6	0				

BOOK V.—(FORTY-FOUR PSALMS.)

Ps.	E.	J.	A.	Ps.	E.	J.	A.	Ps.	E.	J.	A.	Ps.	E.	J.	A.
107	1	12	0	118	3	28	0	129	0	3	0	*140	1	7	1
*108	6	1	0	119	1	24	0	130	0	5	3	*141	0	3	1
*109	2	7	1	120	0	2	0	*131	0	2	0	*142	0	3	0
*110	0	3	1	121	0	5	0	132	0	6	0	*143	1	4	0
111	0	5	0	*122	1	4	0	*133	0	1	0	*144	2	4	0
112	0	3	0	123	1	2	0	134	0	5	0	*145	1	9	0
113	1	8	0	*124	0	4	0	135	1	19	1	146	4	11	0
114	1	0	1	125	0	4	0	136	2	1	1	147	3	7	0
115	2	13	0	126	0	4	0	137	0	2	0	148	0	6	0
116	1	16	0	127	0	3	0	*138	0	6	0	149	1	4	0
117	0	3	0	128	0	3	0	*139	3	3	0	150	1	3	0

430. We obtain the following results from the above Table:—

(i) In Book I, almost all the Psalms of which are ascribed to David, the use of Jehovah is, *in every instance*, very much more common than that of Elohim. The former occurs 274 times in the book; the latter, 65 times: that is, Jehovah occurs more than *four* times to Elohim *once*.

(ii) In Book II, *in every instance*, the reverse is the case; Elohim is very much more common than Jehovah. The former occurs, in the whole book, 214 times, the latter, 33 times: that is, Elohim occurs more than *six* times to Jehovah *once*.

(iii) In the first eleven Psalms of Book III, which form together one small collection, being all entitled Psalms of Asaph, the use of Elohim also preponderates over that of Jehovah, but not so decisively. The former occurs 59 times,

the latter, 14 times: that is, Elohim occurs more than *four* times to Jehovah *once*.

In the remaining Psalms of Book III the reverse is the case: Jehovah occurs 32 times, Elohim, 20 times: that is, Jehovah occurs about *three* times to Elohim *twice*.

(iv) In Book IV the use of Jehovah preponderates decidedly *in every instance*. It occurs altogether 111 times, Elohim 27 times: that is, Jehovah occurs more than *four* times to Elohim *once*.

(v) In Book V the same is the case, but much more remarkably, except in one instance, Ps.cviii. Omitting this Psalm, Jehovah occurs 268 times, Elohim 40 times: that is, Jehovah occurs nearly *seven* times to Elohim *once*.

431. We may collect the above briefly into one view, as follows: —

Book I	contains	Jehovah <i>four</i> times to	Elohim <i>once</i> .
Book II		Elohim <i>six</i>	Jehovah <i>once</i> .
Book III {	Psalms of Asaph	Elohim <i>four</i>	Jehovah <i>once</i> .
	Other Psalms	Jehovah <i>three</i>	Elohim <i>twice</i> .
Book IV		Jehovah <i>four</i>	Elohim <i>once</i> .
Book V		Jehovah <i>seven</i>	Elohim <i>once</i> .

It is plain that the above results cannot be accidental.

432. We have already seen that of the Psalms of Book II, all of which are so decidedly Elohistic, eighteen are ascribed to David, of which three were certainly, and all were very probably, written by him. These three were composed in the *middle* part of his life; and others are assigned by their titles, probably with reason, to a yet *earlier* time. We have seen also good ground for believing that *all* the Psalms of Book II, which are all Elohistic, may all belong to the age of David. Let us now consider the eleven Elohistic Psalms of Asaph in Book III.

433. We have already (383) examined one ‘Psalm of Asaph,’ Ps.1, and shown that it may, very probably, be referred to the age of David. But expositors usually assume that many Psalms

of this 'Asaph' collection in Book III were manifestly written during or after the Babylonish Captivity. Thus, says the note in *Bagster's Bible*, Ps.lxxiv is 'evidently a lamentation over the Temple destroyed by Nebuchadnezzar,' and Ps.lxxvii is 'allowed by the best judges to have been written during the Babylonian Captivity,' and Ps.lxxix is 'supposed, with much probability, to have been written on the destruction of the City and Temple of Jerusalem by Nebuchadnezzar,' and Ps.lxxx is 'generally supposed to have been written during the Babylonian Captivity,' and as to Ps.lxxxi, 'the most probable opinion is that it was sung at the dedication of the Second Temple.'

434. We must demur, however, to the above conclusions with respect to several of the above Psalms, and must examine each Psalm of this collection separately.

Ps.lxxiii *may* have been written in David's time: in v.17 it refers to the Sanctuary.

Ps.lxxiv was probably written after the destruction of Jerusalem, to which event the expressions in v.3-7 seem very plainly to refer — 'The enemy hath done wickedly in the Sanctuary,'—'They have cast fire into Thy Sanctuary; they have defiled the dwelling-place of Thy Name to the ground.' That these words cannot be referred to the destruction of the Tabernacle at Shiloh appears from v.2, 'this Mount Zion, wherein Thou hast dwelt.' In v.8 we read, 'They said in their hearts, Let us destroy them together: they have burned up *all the synagogues of God* in the land.' There were, however, no synagogues, it is generally believed, till after the return from the Captivity: and hence some consider this to be a Maccabean Psalm. But in the days of the Maccabees the Temple was not burnt and destroyed to the ground, as it is said to be in v.7, however it may have been defiled. In *GESEN. Lex.* the word here used, מִנְעָרִים, is explained as being used 'of the halls of the Temple, or as a *pluralis excellentiæ*, or (if the Psalm belongs to the time of the Maccabees) of the Jewish synagogues.' Most probably, however, the word is used in its proper sense, in which it so constantly occurs, of 'solemn feasts' or 'festal days;' and the expression, 'they have *burned up* all the Feasts of God in the land,' means that by burning the Temple, in which these Feasts were celebrated, they had put an end to all the festive days of the land. Only one other passage, Lam.ii.6, can be thought to support the notion of the word מִנְעָר being used for a 'building'; and there also it is very probable that this is not its meaning. It is used 67 times in the Bible for a 'solemn season,' 139 times for a 'solemn assembly,'—never, distinctly, for a 'building.' So the *Chald. Par.* (Walton's translation) has 'Incenderunt omnes festivitates Dei in terrâ,' the *Vulg.* 'Quiescere faciamus omnes dies

festos Dei a terrâ,' the LXX, *Καταβύσσωμεν τὰς ἐσπέραις Κυρίου ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς*, and so the *Æthiop.*, *Syr.*, and *Arab.* Perhaps, the 'dark places of the earth,' v.20, 'that are full of the habitations (rather 'pastures,' מִדְבָּר) of cruelty,' may refer to the abodes of the heathen, among whom the Jews were now living as captives.

Ps.lxxv contains no distinct signs of time, but may very possibly have been written by David before he came to the throne, as some expressions seem to imply, e.g. v.2, 'When I shall receive the Congregation, ('shall be appointed a time, מִן הַיּוֹם,' cum accepero tempus, JEROME,) I shall judge uprightly,' v.10, 'All the horns of the wicked also will I cut off.'

Ps.lxxvi has every appearance also of having been written by David. The phrases in v.1, 'His Name is great in Israel,' and v.6, 'O God of Jacob,' seem to imply a time when the people was undivided; while the language in v.1, 'In Judah is God known,' and in v.2, 'In Salem also is His Tabernacle, and His dwelling-place in Zion,' show that it could not have been written *before* the time of David. Lastly, the *martial* tone of v.3,5,6,12, restricts it to his days, rather than Solomon's. The LXX have in the title to this Psalm, *πρὸς τὸν Ἀσάφιον*; and it is very possible that it may have been written by Asaph after hearing the tidings of David's great victory over the Syrians: see note below on Ps.lxxx.

Ps.lxxvii, from its general tone, and the expressions in v.14,15,—'Thou art the God that doest wonders; Thou hast declared Thy strength among the people. Thou hast with Thine own arm redeemed Thy people, the sons of Jacob and Joseph,'—might very well have been written by the Elohist, Samuel, before the tribe of Judah was brought forward so prominently in David's time, and with this would correspond the language in v.20, 'Thou leddest Thy people like a flock, by the hand of Moses and Aaron.' Surely Samuel must have written some Psalms, which were chanted by his School of Prophets. It is inconceivable that none of these should have been preserved by any of his disciples, more especially as it can scarcely be doubted that David formed the nucleus of his choir from those who had been already trained under Samuel. Asaph himself, and Heman, and Jeduthun, the three choir-leaders in David's time, may have been thus practised in their youth, and taught to 'prophesy with harps, and with psalteries, and with cymbals,' 1Ch.xxv.1.

But, in that case, it is not easy to see what a writer of the age of Samuel could have meant by the words in v.13, 'Thy way, O God, is in the Sanctuary;' and these words seem equally opposed to the notion of the Psalm having been written during the Captivity. But the *Chald. Par.* has 'How holy are thy ways!' the *Vulg.* 'in Sancto via tua,' the LXX, *ἐν τῇ ἁγίᾳ ἡ ὁδὸς σου*, the *Arab.*, 'Thy way is holy,' the *Syr.*, 'Thy way is in Holiness,' which last is, indeed, the literal translation of the Hebrew בְּקִדְשׁ הַדֶּבֶר. In Ps.lxxiv.3, we find also בְּקִדְשׁ, and there it can scarcely mean anything else than 'in the Sanctuary.'

Ps.lxxviii may also have been written in David's time, as the abrupt conclusion, v.70-72, seems rather to imply, after the tribe of Judah was chosen, and the Tabernacle set up on Mount Zion, v.67-69. It reads like a kind of summary of the story of the Exodus which was then, as we suppose, in existence, as if it had been

composed, perhaps, as a kind of sacred lyric, with the view of *popularising* the narrative, of bringing it to the knowledge, and fixing it in the memories, of the people. In v.9, 'The children of Ephraim, being armed, and carrying bows, turned back in the day of battle,' we appear, as said above (411), to have a reference either to some traditions of the people, which have not been committed to writing at all, or else to some fact recorded in a portion of the story of the Exodus, which no longer exists, but has been suppressed in the course of the manipulation, to which the older document has been subjected. In v.58 we read, 'They provoked Him to anger with their *high places*, and moved Him to jealousy with their graven images.' The parallelism would seem to show that what is here condemned is not the mere worshipping *Jehovah* on 'high places,' as Solomon and the best kings did, but the worshipping 'graven images'—the Baalim and Ashtaroth, Ju.vi.25, 1S.vii.4, which, no doubt, were usually set up in such places.

Ps.lxxix must have been written after the destruction of Jerusalem, as appears by the language of v.1-3, 'O God, the heathen are come into Thine inheritance; Thy holy *Temple* have they defiled; they have laid *Jerusalem* on heaps. The dead bodies of Thy servants have they given to be meat unto the fowls of the heaven, the flesh of Thy saints unto the beasts of the earth. Their blood have they shed like water round about Jerusalem; and there was none to bury them.' These words are quoted in 1Macc.vii.17.

Ps.lxxx *may* have been written in David's days at the same time as the two Psalms, xlii, lx, which express great public distress and deep dejection (370). The expression in v.1, 'Thou that leadest *Joseph* like a flock,' might very well have been used in an age, when David himself could say of this most populous and powerful of all the tribes, 'Ephraim is the strength of my head,' lx.7; and 'Ephraim, Benjamin, and Manasseh,' v.2, would, no doubt, form the great body of his army. There *may* be also, as some suppose, in the words of v.2, 'Before Ephraim, and Benjamin, and Manasseh, stir up thy strength, and come and save us,' a reference to the fact that, in the Mosaic story, N.ii.17-24, x.21-24, the camp of Ephraim, including the tribes of Ephraim, Benjamin, and Manasseh, was to march immediately *after* the Ark, so that God's Presence might be spoken of as showing itself *before* them. In that case there would be a reference to this part of the story of the Exodus, which we suppose written, as will be seen hereafter, before the close of David's reign. After the Captivity, it could hardly have been said, 'Thou that dwellest between the *cherubims*,' v.1.

This Psalm may, therefore, have been written by some pious 'Prophet,' such as Asaph himself, who remained behind in Jerusalem, praying with the fear-stricken people, v.3, while David went forth to fight with the Syrians, 2S.x.15-19. Ps.xlii and Ps.lx (370) show that this time was one of great anxiety in Jerusalem. David himself would in that case be referred to in v.17, 'Let Thy hand be upon the man of Thy right hand, upon the son of man whom Thou madest strong for Thyself.' The expressions in v.16, 'It is burned with fire, it is cut down,' are, of course, metaphorical, referring to the desolation of the 'vine' and 'vineyard,' not to the burning of the Temple.

Ps.lxxxix also would rather seem to have been written in Samuel's time than after the Captivity. There is no reference whatever to the Temple or to Babylon, to Judah or Mount Zion. The expressions in v.4,8,11,13, indicate a time when all Israel was regarded as *one* people; and v.5, 'This He ordained in *Joseph* for a testimony, when he went out of the land of Egypt,' could hardly have been written after the Captivity, though it might well have come from the hand of Samuel himself, in an age when this powerful tribe might be taken to represent the whole people, before the tribe of Judah attained the supremacy. So the enemies in v.13,14,15, seem to be the Philistines or Canaanites: and the references to the Exodus in v.5,6,7, are just such as we might expect the Elohist to make.

Ps.lxxxii contains no indication of time whatever.

Ps. lxxxiii, however, must have been written at a time, v.8, when the Assyrian empire was still existing. It is generally supposed to refer to the great confederacy against Jehoshaphat, of which we have an account in 2Ch.xx, on which occasion, we are told, 'Jahaziel, a Levite, of the *sons of Asaph*,' prophesied a great deliverance. The prominent part, which Jahaziel took in this matter, may throw some light upon the circumstance that this Psalm is found among the Asaph collection. Jehoshaphat came to the throne about a hundred years after the death of David. If, therefore, the above view be correct, it would seem that, even in this age, an Elohist Psalm such as this could be written. It is not, however, so decidedly Elohist as those of Book II; nor would it be safe to rely upon this single instance, as an indication of the general character of the Psalms of that age. Besides which, it is impossible not to perceive that there is a strong resemblance between this Psalm and those written at the time of the strong confederacy against Israel in David's time, to which Ps.xliv, Ps.lx, and Ps.lxxx appear to refer. Of the *eight* confederate nations named in this Psalm, *five* are actually named in 2S.viii.12, *viz.* Edom, Moab, Ammon, Amalek, and the Philistines; another, Assur, may very probably express the 'Syrians beyond the river (Euphrates),' 2S.x.16, whom Hadarezer summoned to his help. Gebal, perhaps, denotes the Giblites, living to the north of Palestine, whom we find hewing stones for Solomon's Temple, 1K.v.18, (E.V. 'stone-squarers'), and who may have been drawn into the great Syrian league. MAUNDRELL writes, *Travels from Aleppo to Jerusalem*, ch.iv,—'This (Byblus) was, probably, the city of the Giblites, Jo.xiii.5, whom king Hiram made use of in preparing materials for Solomon's Temple, as appears from 1K.v.18, where the word rendered 'stone-squarers' is in the Heb. 'Giblim' or 'Giblites,' and in the LXX *βίβλοι*, or 'men of Byblus:' so in Ez.xxvii.9, our translation has 'the ancients of Gebal,' and the LXX 'the elders of Byblus.' The only difficulty, in fact, is to explain how the 'inhabitants of Tyre' could be engaged in opposition to David, when Hiram, king of Tyre, had already sent friendly messengers to him, 2S.v.11, and, it is said, 'was ever a lover of David.' 1K.v.1. But Tyre was at that time an inconsiderable city, and the king of Tyre may have been one of 'the kings that were servants to Hadarezer,' 2S.x.19, and may have been obliged to send his forces to aid his suzerain, however much against his will. 'All these kings,' it is said, after Hadarezer's utter defeat, 'made peace with Israel, and served them.'

435. As some of the above are private Psalms, written, it would seem, by some royal personage, and written certainly at a very different age from others of this collection, which refer to the Captivity, it would rather appear that this set is called 'The Psalms of Asaph,' because the collection belonged to the Asaph family, though some of them may have been written by their ancestor in the days of David or Samuel.

We find here, however, in this Asaph collection, some *very late* Psalms, in which the same occurs as in those Psalms of David which we have just been considering,—viz. a preponderance of the name Elohim, though not in the same degree.

436. This accords also with the fact that, in the book of Ezra we have Elohim 97 times, Jehovah 37 times, and in that of Nehemiah, Elohim 74 times, Jehovah 17 times, contrary to all the data of the other historical books. It is quite possible that some of these later Elohistic Psalms may be Ezra's. It would almost seem as if, after their long sojourn as captives in a strange land, when Israel no longer existed as a nation, they had begun to discontinue the use of the national Name for the Divine Being. However, if so, it must have soon been revived after their return from the Captivity, since we find the later Prophets using the word freely again,—Haggai (J.35, E.3), Zechariah (J.132, E.12), Malachi (J.47, E.8). At a still later date, superstitious scruples prevailed so far, as to prevent the name Jehovah from being used at all. It is not found in the whole book of Ecclesiastes, and only in one chapter of Daniel, chap.ix. In the book of Enoch, composed (according to Archbishop LAWRENCE, *p.xliv, note*) about 30 B.C., we find the names of the six archangels, chap.xx, Uriel, Raphael, Raguel, Michael, Sarakiel, Gabriel, and a multitude of other names compounded with EL, but not one with Jehovah.

437. There is no reason to suppose that any of these Psalms, or any others in the whole book of Psalms, are later than the time of Nehemiah, who probably first edited them in their

present form, in accordance with the statement in 2Macc.ii.13, that he, 'founding a library, gathered together the acts of the Kings, and of the Prophets, and of David, &c.'

The later Psalms, which are mostly liturgical, are chiefly found in the last half of the collection, while, of the seventy-three ascribed to David, fifty-five are found in the first half. There can be no doubt that the whole collection was formed *gradually*, Book I having been first formed, and then Book II, &c. This appears from the circumstance that there is *some* attempt at orderly arrangement in them, (*e.g.* all the 'Psalms of Asaph' except one, Ps.1, are placed together), and yet no regular *system* of arrangement is carried out, either with regard to the supposed author, or the subject-matter of the Psalms, (*e.g.* 'Psalms of David' may be found scattered about in all the books).

438. At the end of Book II we find, 'The Psalms of David, the son of Jesse, are ended,' Ps.lxxii.28, which, as BLEEK justly observes, could not have been appended by the editor of the *whole* collection, since several 'Psalms of David' are inserted afterwards, nor scarcely by the compiler of the first two books, since seventeen of the Psalms contained in them are *not* ascribed to David. Rather, these words seem to have been written by the person, who began the collection of Book III by annexing the eleven Psalms of Asaph, to which, subsequently, the other six Psalms of Book III were added, including one of David's. He, probably, meant to draw a line of distinction between the foregoing Psalms, which, looking at them as a whole, he regarded as David's, and the Asaph collection, which he was now appending.

It is remarkable that not one of the Psalms is ascribed to one of the great Prophets, as Samuel, Isaiah, or Jeremiah, the latter of whom must surely have written many in his time.

CHAPTER XVIII.

THE JEHOVISTIC PSALMS CONSIDERED.

439. WE have seen that all the Psalms in Book II, together with the eleven Psalms of Asaph in Book III, are decidedly Elohistie. All the remaining Psalms appear to be Jehovistic with one single exception, Ps.cviii (E.6,J.1). But this is evidently compounded of parts of the two Elohistie Psalms, lvii and lx, with one or two slight variations, the most noticeable being that Adonai, in Ps.lvii.9, is changed to Jehovah in Ps.cviii.3, that is, in the *later* edition, since, of course, the two complete Psalms existed before, probably *long* before, the composite Psalm was constructed.

440. Of the Jehovistic Psalms, *fifty-five* are ascribed to David; and it will be found that in these the name Jehovah occurs *four* times to Elohim *once*, while in *twenty* of them Elohim does not occur at all.

Now, as already observed, it is incredible, according to the ordinary laws of the human mind, that David should, *in the very same part of his life*, have written a number of Psalms with Elohim occurring on the average *six* times to Jehovah once, in several of which Jehovah does not occur at all, and another number of Psalms, in which Jehovah occurs on the average *four* times to Elohim once, and in many of which Elohim does not occur at all. Even allowing that in either set there may be many Psalms, which have been incorrectly ascribed to David, the argument holds good with regard to the remainder. As we

have certainly *some* of David's Psalms, written in the *earlier* and *middle* parts of his life, which are Elohistie, we may reasonably conclude that, if any of these Jehovistic Psalms really belong to him, they can only have been written in the *last* part of his life, when, according to our view, the word had become more familiar to himself, and better known to the people.

441. Accordingly, as far as we can depend upon the Titles, supported by the consideration of the contents, we find this to be the case. The following *four* Psalms are ascribed by their Titles to the *latter* part of David's life.

(i) Ps.iii (J.6,E.2) when David 'fled from Absalom,' in the *sixty-third* year of his life. HENGSTENBERG, however, agrees with LUTHER in considering, that, from the artificial construction of this Psalm, it must have been written at even a later date than the event to which it is supposed to refer. It speaks in v.4 of 'Jehovah's holy hill,' which points either to the Tabernacle or the Temple on Mount Zion, and, therefore, does not fix the Psalm to David's time.

(ii) Ps.vii (J.8,E.6), 'concerning the words of Cush the Benjamite,' whom LUTHER and others identify with Shimei, the son of Gera, the Benjamite, who insulted David on the same occasion, 2S.xvi.7,8, and whom David charged his son Solomon 'not to hold guiltless,' but to 'bring down his hoar hair to the grave with blood,' 1K.ii.8,9. HENGSTENBERG, while he agrees with LUTHER, and with most Jewish expositors, in regarding the word Cush as being not a proper name, but an epithet, 'Ethiopian,' used metaphorically of a 'man of a black heart,' understands it, however, of some unknown calumniator of David in the time of Saul. And he supports his view by a 'special reason' of astonishing cogency. The symbolical name for *David's persecutor*, *Cush*, כִּשׁ, is a play upon the name of *Saul's father*, *Kish*, כִּישׁ! There is nothing in the Psalm itself to decide the question.

(iii) Ps.xviii (J.16,E.11), when David was delivered from all his enemies and from the hand of Saul.'

The last words of this title might seem to point to an earlier period, when he had only been recently delivered from Saul's hand.

I copy, however, on this point the following note of HENGSTENBERG:—

'We are told in the superscription that David sang this Psalm, after that Jehovah had delivered him from all his enemies. The Psalm is thus designated, not as having arisen from some special occasion, but as a general song of praise, for all the grace and the assistance, which he had received from God all his life long, as a collection of the thanksgivings which David had uttered from time to time on particular occasions,—a great Hallelujah, with which he retired from the theatre of life. In 2S.xxii this Psalm is expressly connected with the end of David's life, imme-

diately before his 'last words,' which are presently after given in chap.xxiii. With this design the matter of the Psalm entirely agrees. In it the Psalmist thanks God, not for any single deliverance, but having throughout before him yes a great whole of gracious administrations, an entire life rich with experience of loving-kindness of God.'

Thus this Psalm also, if written by David at all, was written at the close of his life.

(iv) Ps.xxx (J.10,E.2) was composed, according to the Title, 'for the dedication of the House of David.' This Title also might seem to point to the time, when David erected the Tabernacle on Mount Zion, and brought up the Ark to Jerusalem, in the *fortieth* year of his life. But on this point again HENGSTENBERG observes :

'The House, clearly, is the House of God, the Temple. And the Title indicates that this Psalm was sung at the dedication by David of the site of the future Temple, as recorded in 2S.xxiv and 1Ch.xxi.'

He then supports his statement by reference to the contents of the Psalm, which, certainly, do not at all correspond with the circumstances under which David's Tabernacle was consecrated, but agree with the history in the above two passages. And he quotes with reference to the site in question, 1Ch.xxii.1, — 'Then David said, *This is the House of Jehovah Elohim*, and this is the Altar for the burnt-offering for Israel.' Thus, according to HENGSTENBERG, this Psalm also was written in the *sixty-eighth* year of David's life.

442. The above are all the Jehovistic Psalms, ascribed to David, whose titles mark the time of their composition, except Ps.cxlii, the title of which we have shown to be erroneous (423). As before observed, it cannot be regarded as *certain* that the above Titles are correct, or that *all* or *any* of the above Psalms are really David's, though it is probable that some of them are. Still some doubt, as to *any* Jehovistic Psalm being David's, must be caused by the fact, that the 'last words' of David, as given in 2S.xxiii.1-7, which have all the appearance of being genuine, and which, in tone and character, are very like those Elohistie Psalms, which we know to be his, are also Elohistie, containing Elohim *four* times and Jehovah *once*. And the last verse of the Jehovistic Ps.xviii, which may be thought at first sight to point certainly to David as its author, — 'Great deliverance giveth He to His king, and sheweth mercy to His anointed, to David and to his seed for evermore,' — may very well have been written by some descendant of David, sitting upon his

throne in a later day. In fact, Solomon himself is made to say, after his father's death, 'Thou hast shewed unto Thy servant David, my father, great mercy and Thou hast kept for him this great kindness, that Thou hast given him a son to sit on his throne as it is this day.' 1K.iii.6. So, too, in 1K.viii.24-26, he says, 'Who hast kept with Thy servant David my father that Thou promisedst him, &c.' And in v.66 we read that the people 'went unto their tents, joyful and glad of heart for all the goodness that Jehovah had done for David, His servant, and for Israel, His people.'

443. Hence, while HENGSTENBERG contends strongly for the general accuracy of the Titles, yet DE WETTE, EWALD, HITZIG, HUPFELD, &c., regard them as very uncertain, and assign to other, and often much later, writers, many of the Psalms attributed to David.

But, as far as these Titles are of any value, as far as their statements are confirmed by any internal evidences from their contents, they help us to maintain the ground already taken. They show that all the Psalms in question, and, therefore, we may justly infer, in the absence of plain proof to the contrary, any other decidedly *Jehovistic* Psalms, which really belong to David, whether ascribed to him or not, were written, not in the earlier or middle part of his life, when his compositions, as we have seen, were decidedly Elohistic, but towards the close of it.

444. We must now examine carefully all the Psalms of Books I, III, IV, V, whether ascribed to David or not, which exhibit any signs of the time when they were composed.

BOOK I.

Ps.ii (E.0,J.3,A.1) is not ascribed to David by any Title, but is generally attributed to him. If it be his, it speaks of a time, when kings and rulers were fretting under his yoke, as God's vicegerent, the Anointed king, whom Jehovah had 'set upon His holy hill of Zion,' v.6, and were 'taking counsel together, saying, Let us break their bonds asunder, and cast away their cords from us.' It is true, the history says nothing of any uneasy movement of this kind, among the nations

whom David had actually subdued. Yet, as he was obliged to 'put garrisons' in Syria of Damascus and Edom, 2S.viii.6,14, and as these countries rebelled, and regained their independence immediately after Solomon's accession, 1K.xi.14-25, it is very possible that, *in the last years of David's life*, he may have seen indications of turbulence among these and other subject peoples, which gave the occasion for such a Psalm as this. It can scarcely be correct to translate בֶּן in v.12 by 'Son.' The word is nowhere used in this sense except in Pr.xxxi.2, and in *Chaldaic* passages, Ezr.v.1,2, vi.14, Dan.iii.25, v.22,31, vii.13. In the LXX, *Chald.*, *Æthiop.*, and *Arab.* versions, instead of 'Kiss the Son' the original is rendered by 'Give heed to instruction.'

Ps.xiv (E.3,J.4) is only another version of the Elohist Psalm, Ps.liii. In this, besides one or two other verbal alterations, the word Elohim has been in four places changed to Jehovah, so that what was originally (E.7,J.0) now appears as (E.3,J.4). These changes *may* certainly have been made, as HENGSTENBERG maintains, by David himself; but, if so, we have every reason to believe, from what we have seen of his spare use of the Name Jehovah in the earlier part of his life, that they must have been made in his later days.

Ps.xx (E.3,J.5) and Ps.xxi (E.0,J.4) appear to have been composed *for* David by one of the devout persons of that time, with reference to his 'day of trouble' by reason of his son's rebellion. The mention of the Sanctuary and Zion, in xx.2, seems to confirm the Title as to this being a Psalm of David's age. Both would appear to have been written before the flight in which Absalom was killed. The expressions in xxi.4, 'He asked life of Thee, and Thou gavest him a long life, even length of days for ever and ever,' would indicate that David was now advanced in years.

Ps.xxxviii (E.2,J.3,A.3) is ascribed to David, and, if written by him, must have been written, evidently, with reference to his great sin, in the fifty-first year of his life, and would, therefore, be of the same age as Ps.li (E.6,J.0,A.1). This Psalm indeed, can hardly be considered as decidedly Jehovistic, though Jehovah occurs in it thrice and Elohim twice, since Elohim and Adonai occur in it together five times. But there is nothing in the Psalm itself to fix it upon David.

Ps.xl (E.4,J.9,A.1) in its last five verses are almost identical with the Elohist Psalm, Ps.lxx (E.3,J.2): but the Elohim of the latter is changed twice to Jehovah and once to Adonai in the former, and the converse change is made of Jehovah to Elohim in one instance: comp. Ps.xl.13 and Ps.lxx.1. It is *possible* that David, in the latter days of his life, may have annexed this older Psalm of five verses to one which he had just composed, making a few verbal alterations in it.

Ps.xli (E.1,J.6), if written by David, must have been written at the time when he fled from Absalom. The words in v.9, 'Yea, mine own familiar friend, in whom I trusted, which did eat of my bread, hath lifted up his heel against me,' would in that case refer, evidently, to Ahitophel. And, perhaps, the full blessing, poured out in v.1-3 upon those who 'consider the poor,' may have been drawn from the royal fugitive by the kindness of Shobi, Machir, and Barzillai, in bringing him the necessaries of life for himself and his people, as recorded in 2S.xvii.27-29.

445. BOOK III.

Ps.lxxxiv (E.8,J.7), though not ascribed to David, may have been written by him on the same occasion as the last. The words in v.7, 'They go from strength to strength; every one of them in Zion appeareth before God,' may refer either to the Tabernacle or Temple. The expressions in v.2, 'My soul longeth, yea, even fainteth for the courts of Jehovah,' with the description in v.4-7 of the blessedness of those who are able to worship there, correspond to David's state of mind, when driven over Jordan by his son's rebellion. It is an Elohistic Psalm, but not strongly so, as those written at a somewhat earlier period of his life.

Ps.lxxxvi (E.5,J.4,A.7) is ascribed to David, and has all the appearance of being one of his Psalms.

Ps.lxxxvii (E.1,J.2), from the mention of Babylon in v.4, was evidently written after the captivity.

Ps.lxxxviii (E.1,J.4) is inscribed 'to or for Heman the Ezrahite,' who was, probably, the head of a choir in David's time, 1Ch.xv.19, and, therefore, we may suppose, was in the generation junior to David's. Thus Heman *may* have written this Psalm in the latter part of David's reign, or David *may* have written it *for* Heman in the time of Absalom's rebellion.

Ps.lxxxix (E.3,J.11,A.2) is inscribed 'to or for Ethan the Ezrahite.' Ethan, also, was probably the head of a choir in David's time, 1Ch.xv.19, and may have written Psalms towards the close of David's life.

But it seems questionable if this particular Psalm could have been written in that age: since it could not have been said, *literally*, in any part of David's reign, 'Thou hast broken down all his hedges: Thou hast brought his stronghold to ruin: all that pass by the way spoil him: he is a reproach to his neighbours,' v.40,41. If we understand these words *metaphorically*, as speaking of the shame and distress, in which David was involved by Absalom's rebellion, yet there is no indication in the history that David's forces were defeated by Absalom's in any engagement, so that it could be written, 'Thou hast also turned the edge of his sword, and hast not made him to stand in the battle,' v.43. It seems, however, hardly conceivable that Absalom would have been allowed to raise himself to such power, without his troops, or some portion of them, at all events, having ever once come into collision with the royal forces under Joab. One single defeat — perhaps, of no great importance in itself, so that it would not be noted in such a rapid history of events — would be enough to account for the expressions in v.43; and then the whole Psalm may very well be ascribed, like the former, to David himself, who wrote it *for* Ethan. Most commentators, however, in consequence of the above expressions, suppose it to have been written during the Babylonian Captivity, 'when, the family of David being dethroned, and the royal family ruined, the Divine providence had *apparently* failed.' *Bagster's Bible*. If so, then Ps.lxxxviii also, whose very similar title is not in any way confirmed by the contents, may also have been written at a much later time than David's.

446. BOOK IV.

Ps.xc (E.2,J.2,A.1) is ascribed to 'Moses, the man of God.' There is nothing whatever in the Psalm itself to corroborate this Title; or rather—considering the great ages assigned to Aaron, N.xxxiii.39, and Joshua, Jo.xxiv.29, and observing that Caleb was still strong and vigorous at fourscore, Jo.xiv.10,11, and that it is said of Moses himself, 'Moses was an hundred and twenty years old when he died; his eye was not dim, nor his natural force abated,' D.xxxiv.7,—the expressions in v.10, 'The days of our years are three-score years and ten; and, if by reason of strength they be four-score years, yet is their strength labour and sorrow, for it is soon cut off, and we are gone,' strongly contradict the notion of Moses being the author, if the statements in the Pentateuch are regarded as historically true.

Ps.ci (E.0,J.2) is ascribed to David, but may have been written by any pious king.

Ps.cii (E.1,J.8) is thought by many to have been composed during the Babylonish Captivity. But it seems rather to suit the times of Hezekiah, when distressed by the Assyrians: see v.23,24, comp. with 2K.xx.

Ps.ciii (E.0,J.11) is ascribed to David, probably without reason, as it contains Jehovah so often to the absolute exclusion of Elohim. If written by him, it may have been composed toward the close of his life.

Ps.civ (E.3,J.10) is also ascribed to David in the LXX. It contains the same *refrain*, 'Bless Jehovah, O my soul,' at the beginning and end, as Ps.ciii, so that the two Psalms were, no doubt, written by the same author. But there is nothing in the contents of either to indicate the age of David. The 'Hallelujah,' which ends the Psalm in the English version, doubtless belongs properly to the beginning of Ps.cv, as we find it in the LXX.

Ps.cv (E.1,J.6) is not ascribed to David by its Title: but in 1Ch.xvi we have the first fifteen verses of it, with one or two variations, followed by Ps.xcvi and Ps.cvi, 47,48, set forth as a Psalm which David 'delivered into the hands of Asaph and his brethren,' on the day when he brought up the Ark to Mount Zion. This seems, however, to be one of the Chronicler's numerous fictions. For Ps.cv is evidently complete in itself, whoever wrote it; and the first sixteen verses had been first written, in connection with the following verses, at the time when the whole Psalm was composed: otherwise it would have been a mere unmeaning fragment. If so, it is not to be believed that such a master of sacred song as David, for a ceremony of such great importance, would have patched together pieces from two or three old Psalms, instead of writing a special song for the occasion.

There is no reason, therefore, for ascribing this Psalm to David. And there can be little doubt that Ps.cv was written at the same time as Ps.cvi, with which it entirely agrees in character, and which was, beyond a doubt, written after the captivity, as appears by v.40-47. Both Psalms also begin and end with 'Hallelujah,' 'Praise ye Jehovah,' which phrase never occurs in any of the genuine Psalms of David, nor even in any of those which are ascribed to David, but only in these later Psalms of Book IV and Book V, written after the Captivity. This circumstance

also intimates that the word Jehovah came freely into use in later times than those of David, not to speak of the age of Moses. But the fact that the Chronicler quotes in the above passage the doxology at the close of Book IV, Ps.cvi.48, shows, as we have said, (228) that the collection of the Psalms was probably completed in its present form at the time when he wrote.

447. BOOK V.

Ps.cviii (E.6,J.1) has been already considered (439).

Ps.cix (E.2,J.7,A.1) is ascribed to David, and, if written by him, can only be referred to the time of Absalom's rebellion and the cursing of Shimei, v.17-20, which certainly David seems to have resented exceedingly, judging from his words to Solomon, if they are recorded correctly in 1K.ii.9.

Ps.cx (E.0,J.3,A.1) is ascribed to David. If written by him, it may have been composed towards the close of his life, with reference to the promised 'seed,' 2S.vii.12, whose kingdom was to be 'established for ever,' v.13, and whom David himself salutes here as his Lord, seeing mentally beforehand the glories of his reign. BLEEK considers that it was more probably written *for* David, that is, with respect to him.

Ps.cxxii (E.1,J.4) is ascribed to David, and may have been written by him in his old age: though the expression in v.5, 'the thrones of the house of David,' rather seems to point to a later age.

Ps.cxxiv (E.0,J.4) is also ascribed to David, and may, like the last, have been written in his old age. But there is no internal evidence to fix it upon him.

The note in *Bagster's Bible* is as follows:—

'It is uncertain what the particular deliverance was, which is celebrated in this Psalm. It is attributed to David in the present copies of the Hebrew text. But it is to be remarked that this Title is wanting in three MSS. and in the ancient versions. Some refer it to the deliverance of Hezekiah from Sennacherib, and others to the return from the Babylonian captivity; while Dr. A. CLARKE refers it to that of the Jews from the massacre intended by Haman.'

Ps.cxxxi (E.0,J.2) is ascribed to David, and may be one of his later Psalms.

Ps.cxxxii (E.0,J.6) may have been written by Solomon, or in Solomon's age, when the Ark was taken up into the Temple. The Chronicler inserts v.8,9,10,16, of this Psalm at the end of Solomon's prayer when the Temple was opened. 2Ch.vi.41,42.

Ps.cxxxiii (E.0,J.1) is ascribed to David, and may be one of his later Psalms.

Ps.cxxxviii (E.0,J.6) is ascribed to David, and may have been written by him in his old age. But five MSS. omit the Title; and the LXX and *Arabic* versions assign this Psalm to Haggai and Zechariah.

Ps.cxxxix (E.3,J.3) is ascribed to David, and may be one of his later Psalms.

Ps.cxl (E.1,J.7,A.1), Ps.cxli (E.0,J.3,A.1), and Ps.cxlii (E.0,J.3) are all ascribed to David, the last being entitled, 'Maschil of David: a Prayer when he was in the cave.' We have already seen (426) that it is very improbable that this

title should be correct. In Ps.cxli.7, we read 'Our bones are scattered at the grave's mouth, as when one cutteth and cleaveth wood upon the earth,' which words can scarcely be referred, as they are by some, to the massacre of the Priests at Nob, notwithstanding the ingenious argument that the Hebrew 'at the grave's mouth,' can be read, with a change of vowel-points, 'at the mouth of Saul.' The *Syrian* Title says that the Psalm was written when David escaped from Saul's javelin, which struck the wall. But it is not likely that David would have imprecated upon Saul, 'the Lord's anointed,' such judgments as these, 'Let burning coals fall upon them, let them be cast into the fire, into deep pits, that they rise not again,' Ps.cxl.10. And it is most unlikely that he should have written Jehovistic Psalms like these, at the very time when we are sure he was writing decidedly Elohistie Psalms, often without the word Jehovah occurring at all in them. These Psalms *may* have been written by David in the latter part of his life; but, if so, the occasion on which he wrote them is unknown, for they cannot fairly be assigned to the time of Absalom's rebellion.

Ps.cxl.iii (E.1,J.4) is ascribed to David, and, according to the *LXX*, *Vulg.*, *Eth.*, and *Arab.*, was written with reference to Absalom's rebellion in the later part of his life.

Ps.cxliv (E.2,J.4) is ascribed to David, perhaps rightly, as it contains the expressions in v.2, 'Who subdueth my people under me,' and in v.10, 'Who delivereth David His servant from the peril of the sword.' It resembles very much Ps.xviii, and, like it, *may* be one of his later Psalms.

Ps.cxlv (E.1,J.9), which is the last Psalm ascribed, or attributed, to David, is supposed to have been composed by David *towards the close of his life.* *Bagster's Bible.*

448. The result of our examination is that there is not a single Jehovistic Psalm, which there is any reasonable ground for assigning to the earlier part of David's life. Even admitting many Jehovistic Psalms to be David's on the uncertain warrant of their Titles only, yet all of these *may* be assigned, and some of them *must* be assigned, to the later part of his reign, at the time of, or after, the rebellion of Absalom, in the *sixty-third* year of his life. On the other hand, we have undeniable evidence that, in the earlier and middle parts of his life, he wrote certainly *some* Psalms, and probably *many*, which are decidedly Elohistie. Hence, whether the Jehovistic Psalms were composed by David or not, it is certain that, when he wrote those earlier Psalms, *e.g.*, Ps.lxviii (E.31,J.4,A.7), he could have had no such idea of the sacredness of the Name

Jehovah, and the paramount privilege and duty of using it in obédience to the Divine command, as the Pentateuch, upon the ordinary view of its historical character, would lead us to expect,—at all events, in the case of a man so pious and well-trained as David, and one who had been from his youth up in closest intimacy with the Prophet Samuel. It seems absolutely impossible that, while other persons, as the history teaches,—Eli, 1S.ii.24,25, and Samuel, 1S.xii(J.32,E.4), and Jonathan, 1S.xx.12–23(J.9,E.1)—more common persons also, as Naomi and Ruth, R.i, Boaz and his reapers, R.ii.4, Hannah, 1S.ii.1–10 (J.9,E.2), Abigail, 1S.xxv.26–31(J.7,E.1),—nay, even the heathen Philistines, 1S.vi.2,8, xxix.6,—were using freely the sacred Name of Jehovah, yet David himself used it so sparingly that in several of his Psalms it appears not at all.

449. It is true, the *history* puts the word in David's mouth much more frequently than Elohim, 1S.xxiv.6,10,12,15(J.8,E.0), xxvi.9–24(J.15,E.0)—that is to say, the history represents David as using constantly the name Jehovah, and scarcely the name Elohim at all, *at the very time* when he was hiding in the wilderness, and writing, apparently, Psalm after Psalm, in which Elohim occurs continually, and Jehovah scarcely at all. Nay, the history makes the Philistine king Achish swear familiarly by Jehovah, 1S.xxix.6, 'Surely, as Jehovah liveth, thou hast been upright.' But this is only one sign, among others, that the history in the Books of Samuel was composed at a later date, when the name Jehovah was undoubtedly in common use, and was, therefore, put by the writer in the mouth of every one. David's own Psalms are, surely, the best possible proof of the actual state of things at the time when he lived. And the simple fact, that David wrote *one* such Psalm as Ps.li, or Ps.lx, or Ps.lxviii, in the *earlier* part of his life, is enough to establish the point now in question, provided that there is no Psalm of opposite character, that is, no *decidedly Jehovistic* Psalm, which contains strong internal evidence of having been

written by David in the same part of his life. I have looked for such a Psalm in vain.

450. And let it be observed once more that the argument would hold good, with respect to any of the Psalms in Book II, which bear distinct signs of an early date, even if they had not been written by David. There *are* those Psalms; and they are undeniably *early* Psalms, that is to say, such a Psalm as Ps.lx must, as it appears to me, from its internal character, have been written in David's time. This was the *only* time that can be thought of, in the history of the Hebrew monarchy, when it could be said that Gilead and Manasseh, Ephraim and Judah, were all under one sway, except the time of Solomon; and the references to Moab, Edom, and Philistia, in v.8, as well as the whole tone of the Psalm, do not agree with the age of Solomon, but *do* with the age of David. This Psalm, then, and the others of a similar kind, must, it would seem, have been written by some pious person or persons of those days, whether David or not. And the writer, or writers, it is plain, could not have been in the habit, at that time, of using familiarly the name Jehovah. It could not, therefore, have been commonly employed in the devotions of pious men in those days. And, if so, it could not have been freely in use *before* those days; and, above all, it could not have been known and recognised as the name which Almighty God Himself had revealed to Moses, and specially sanctioned as the name, by which He would be hereafter known in Israel.

CHAPTER XIX.

THE JEHOVISTIC NAMES IN THE BOOK OF JUDGES.

451. THE inference from the above seems to be plain, in complete accordance with our previous supposition, viz. that the word, Jehovah, had been but newly formed, or, at least, newly adopted and introduced, by some great, wise, and patriotic master-mind — very probably, SAMUEL'S — at the time when David came to the throne, with the special purpose, probably, of consolidating and maintaining the civil and religious unity of the Hebrew tribes, under the new experiment of the kingdom. As the facts, which we have been here considering, so far from being in any way at variance with the conclusion, to which we had already come on other clear grounds, as to the unhistorical character of the Mosaic narrative, are, on the contrary, quite in accordance with it, we cannot, as before said, suppose that the Name Jehovah really originated in the way described in E.iii and E.vi. Yet, we repeat, it must have been introduced at some period or other of the history of the Hebrew tribes, as the word Unkulunkulu must have come into use, in some intelligible and natural manner, if we only knew the story of it, among the Zulus, or as the word uDio is now being introduced among them.

452. From the doubt which exists as to the proper vowel-sounds, with which this Name should be enunciated, it has been suggested that it may be, perhaps, a word of foreign origin, —

cognate, perhaps, with the Sanscrit Dyaus,* from which is derived the Greek *Ζεύς, Διός*, and the Latin *Ju*, which appears in *Ju-piter, Jov-is*,—and that this word may have been adopted among the Hebrews, being first corrupted into the form יהו, *yěhu*, and so referred to the Hebrew root יהה. In fact, one very common form of the Name is יה, *yah*, or יהו, *yahu*. One strong objection to this theory appears to lie in the fact that the Sanscrit word, and its derivations, have all an initial sound of *d*, which the Hebrew has not. But, however this may be, whether the word ‘Jehovah’ be a corruption of a foreign word, or originated by some great authority among the Hebrews themselves, it must have been gradually brought into popular use,—doubtless, in a great measure, by means of such Psalms as these.

453. HENGSTENBERG, however, writes as follows, i.253 :—

‘The assumption that אֱלֹהִים (*Elohim*) is the *earlier*, and יְהוָה (*Jehovah*) the *later*, Divine Name, may be considered as almost *universal*. We feel ourselves justified, on philological grounds alone, in decidedly *contradicting this view*. We have shown that the word הוה, *havah*, even in the Pentateuch, appears to have become *obsolete*. With the exception of the single passage which has been noticed, it is not to be found in Genesis. Of a future יהוה there is no trace. In the explanation of יהוה in E.iii no notice is taken of הוה, *havah*, but הָיָה, *hayah*, is used exactly as הָיָה, *khayah*, in the explanation of הָיָה, *khavah*, Eve, G.iii.20. *Unless persons pronounce* (which few will venture to do) *the Pentateuch in all its parts to be spurious*, so that no inference can be drawn from it respecting the state of the language in the time of Moses, *they will be forced to carry back the formation and introduction of the Name beyond the Mosaic age*, from which another important consequence will follow, that the idea of the ‘Israelitish national God’ cannot be the fundamental idea.’

Ans. According to our view הוה, *havah*, may have been, in the time of Samuel, a somewhat *unusual* form of the verb. If it had been *obsolete*, Isaiah could hardly have used it three centuries afterwards, הָיָה ‘be thou,’ Is.xvi.4. We have also הָיָה, *havvath*, Pr.x.3, הוה, *hoveh*, Ecc.ii.22, &c., from the same root הוה.

454. And this view seems to be confirmed, when we examine the names mentioned in the historical books, which *follow the*

* ‘The word (Θεός) occurs in most of the kindred languages, Sanscr. *deva*, Lat. *deus*, *divus*, &c., and was originally the same as *Ζεύς, Σθεός, Διός*.’—LIDDELL and SCOTT’s *Lexicon*.

Pentateuch. We have already seen (303) that not only the Elohists, but even the Jehovist, has abstained from introducing names compounded with Jehovah in the course of the Mosaic story. They occur only in *two* cases, Joshua and Jochebed. The Elohist himself makes the change of Hoshea to Jehoshua in a very marked manner; and Jochebed, as we have seen some reason to believe (305), and as we shall see more plainly hereafter, is, most probably, a later interpolation.

455. The stories in the Book of Judges are also, like the story of the Exodus, most probably founded upon some real traditions; and, though in some places they are evidently exaggerated, and in others they have assumed a legendary form, and the chronology, throughout, is the despair of the 'reconciling' school of theologians, yet the heroes, whose exploits are there described, seem to have been real characters, and their *names*, in most cases, may be supposed to be genuine. In this book, we have Othniel, i.13, (*not* Jael, ^ליַעַל, which is not compounded with ^לאֵל, *el*) and Penuel, viii.8, (the name of a place), and in Ri.2, we have Elimelech; but among all the numerous Judges and their fathers we find no other names compounded with Elohim.

456. There are, however, *four* names in the book of Judges, which are, apparently, compounded with Jehovah, viz. *Joash*, vi.11, the father, and *Jotham*, ix.5, the son, of Gideon, Micah = *ah*, xvii.1, and *Jonathan* xviii.30.

(i) If Joash, יוֹאָשׁ, be here the same as Jehoash, יְהוֹאָשׁ, 2K.xii.1, (as some suppose, and as in later days, when names were so commonly compounded with Jehovah, it probably would be, see 2K.xii.20,) it would, of course, be compounded with Jehovah. But the name יוֹאָשׁ, Joash, may have been derived from יֹאֵשׁ, as יוֹסֵף, Joseph, from יֹסֵף.

(ii) In like manner יוֹתָם, Jotham, may be derived from the old form יְתָם = תָּם (GESEN. *Lex*).

(iii) So, too, מִיכָה, Micah, which is by some considered to be an abridged form of מִיכָיָה or מִיכָיָהוּ, Micaiah, 'Who is like Jehovah?' is by others distinguished from the latter name, and explained to mean, 'poor, or smitten, or who is here.'

This last is the explanation of Micah, which is given in Bishop PARKER's Bible,

where also the meaning of Jotham is said to be 'perfect,' but that of Joash 'fire of Jehovah.'

(iv) There can be no doubt that יהונתן, Jonathan, is compounded with Jehovah, and means 'Jehovah gives.'

457. From the above observations it will be seen that it must be considered doubtful, whether the first three of these four names are really compounded with Jehovah at all,—so doubtful, that no stress can be laid upon them in argument against such positive facts as have been already produced. But the fourth, Jonathan, does certainly contain the name Jehovah; and we must examine how far our theory is affected by this fact.

458. If we could be reasonably certain that this was a *bonâ fide* historical name, and that a man, called Jonathan, was actually 'Priest to the tribe of Dan,' Ju.xviii.30, *before* the time of Samuel, it would follow, of course, that the name Jehovah was not first *introduced* by Samuel. But then we are met by the fact that this is the *only* name in the whole history of the Judges, with respect to which it can be confidently maintained that it is compounded with Jehovah. If we joined with it the three doubtful names above discussed, we should still be confronted with the fact that, among the multitude of names of persons and places, in Numbers, Joshua, Judges, Ruth, many of them compounded with the Divine Name,—when, according to the Jehovist, the name Jehovah had been used freely from the first, and, according to another part of the story, even if it first came into use at the time of the Exodus, yet Moses himself had already set the example of compounding names with it, by changing Hoshea to Joshua,—we find no other names of this kind, save Joshua and Jochebed. Let us, therefore, consider somewhat more closely this case of 'Jonathan.'

459. Now, first, it must be observed that this name does not occur in the 'Book of Judges,' properly so called, but only in one

of the two episodic narratives, which are attached to the end of it, xvii-xxi, appendices, as it were, to the Book itself, and very possibly, therefore, written not by the same hand, which composed the main portion of the principal story, and written also, it may be, at a later date than that. In fact, we have, in these two episodes, distinct marks of the time at which they were written, a time later, at all events, than the days of Saul's entering on the kingdom. This is implied by the expression in xvii.6, 'In those days there was no king in Israel; but every man did that which was right in his own eyes,' which is repeated in xviii.1, xix.1, xxi.25; and more especially by the statement in xviii.30, 31, that 'Jonathan, the son of Gershom, the son of Manasseh, he and his sons were priests to the tribe of Dan, *until the day of the Captivity of the land*. And they set them up Micah's graven image, which he had made, *all the time that the House of God was in Shiloh*.' The 'Captivity' here mentioned is supposed by some to refer to the time when the Ark was taken captive in Eli's days, after which calamity the House of God ceased to be any longer at Shiloh. Hence, even according to this view, this story must have been written *after*, and the language seems to imply, *some time after*, that event, and in days when there *was* a king ruling in Israel, and comparative order under his government. In other words, it may have been written in the latter days of Samuel, and, in that case, it would probably be one of the productions of his historical school; but it was certainly not composed at an earlier age.

460. If, then, we adopt the above supposition as to *the date* of the composition of this narrative, the name Jehovah had, according to our view, long been published, and had been, in fact, already introduced into the names of Samuel's own two sons, *Joel* and *Abijah*, as well as in some other names, as *Abiah*, *Zeruah*, &c., of which we shall speak presently. It is quite *possible*, then, in accordance with our view, that a writer of this age might have introduced such a name as the above, com-

pounded with Jehovah, *supposing that it is not a bonâ fide historical name*, the name of a person who actually lived in an earlier age than that of Samuel. In the E.V. he is said to be the 'son of Gershom, son of Manasseh.' This is the reading of the text in the Hebrew Bible; but the more approved marginal reading has מֹשֶׁה, Moses, instead of מְנַשֶּׁה, Manasseh, and the *Vulgate* adopts this reading, which, says BLEEK, p.343, is 'certainly correct,' and according to KUENEN, p.206, 'is now generally adopted.' According to this, Jonathan, who consented to become a priest of the idolatrous Danites, was, apparently, the *grandson* of Moses, or, since no such name occurs among the sons of Gershom, N.iii.18, we may suppose him, perhaps, to have been a *descendant* of Moses. In the same way we might account for the introduction of the other three names, *if* they are regarded as compounded with Jehovah; since the Book of Judges is universally admitted to be not older than the days of Samuel.

461. KENNICOTT writes on the above as follows, *Diss.ii.p.* 51-54:—

'Let us proceed now to another instance of wilful corruption, which seems equally clear and express. The book of Judges acquaints us with the shameful conduct of some in the tribe of Dan, who first stole Micah's idol, and then publicly established idolatry, appointing one Jonathan and his sons as Priests. Concerning this Jonathan, the present text tells us he was the son of Gershom, the son of 'Manassch.' But we know that Gershom was the son of *Moses*; and there are strong reasons for believing that the word here was at first מֹשֶׁה, Moses, and not מְנַשֶּׁה, Manasseh. For, first, JEROME has expressed it 'Moses,' and it is at this day 'Moses' in the *Vulgate*. . . . Further, that the *Greek*, as well as the *Latin*, version formerly read 'Moses,' we may infer from THEODORET, who flourished about A.D. 423, a few years after JEROME's death. This Greek writer gives the following as the words of the Greek version, 'Jonathan, the son of Manasseh, the son of Gershom, the son of Moses.' 'Tis true, though he has preserved the word 'Moses,' he has also (though out of place) preserved the word 'Manasseh:' and from the existence of *both* words we may infer that some copies read the latter word, and some the former, whilst others, that they might certainly have the right word, inserted both. But the true reading may be here easily determined, by the nature of the place, and from the honest confession of the Jews themselves.

'For, struck with deep concern for the honour of their lawgiver, and distressed

that a grandson of Moses should be the first Priest of idolatry, they have ventured (it seems) upon a pious fraud, placing over the word מֹשֶׁה the letter נ, which might intimate it to be Manasseh. The fate of this superposititious letter has been very various,—sometimes placed over the word, sometimes suspended halfway, and sometimes uniformly inserted. The consequence of which has been that, as it was universally understood that the word was designed (by those who added this letter) to be read ‘Manasseh,’ Manasseh has now supplanted Moses, and the sacred text stands here wilfully corrupted. . . . What a fruitful parent of absurdities has this one single letter proved! And yet ’tis a letter, that *is* part of a word, and *is not* part of a word,—in the greater number of copies, suspended between heaven and earth, as ominous, in other copies, magnified to double the common size, as monstrous, and yet in some copies (written as well as printed) endeavouring to conceal its own criminal intrusion, by shrinking to the common size, and wearing the exact garb of the genuine letters, with which it presumes to associate. And all this, even though some of the honester Rabbies have assured us that the ‘Nun’ had no right to a place in that word, *having been added by their fathers to take away this great reproach from the name and family of Moses*. The following are the words of R. SOLOMON JARCHI, who lived about A.D. 1100: ‘For the honour of Moses was the ‘Nun’ written, that the name might be changed; and it was written suspended, to indicate that it was not Manasseh, but Moses.’

462. But is this account of ‘Jonathan’ to be relied on as historically true? We have hitherto taken it for granted that the above interpretation of the words ‘captivity of the land’ is, perhaps, the true one. But the expression is a strange one to be used of the ‘capture of the Ark,’ as there is no indication that the *land* was taken captive at that time. It may be observed, indeed, in favour of this view, that the same word, גָּלוּה, is used in 1S.iv.21,22, where the wife of Phinehas says ‘The glory is *departed* from Israel,’ גָּלוּה כְּבוֹד מִיִּשְׂרָאֵל, as in the verse before us, Ju.xviii.29, עַד-יוֹם גָּלוּת הָאָרֶץ, ‘until the day of the *captivity* of the land;’ and further, it may be suggested that, in this latter passage, instead of הָאָרֶץ, ‘the land,’ might be read, by a very slight change, הָאָרֶן, ‘the Ark.’ But, if the *central* part about Shiloh was overrun for a time by the Philistine armies, it seems very unlikely that the invasion should have reached the extreme northern corner, or that even, if it did, it should have had any effect in stopping the idolatries of the tribe of Dan.

443. Hence it seems much more natural to interpret the words in their plain and obvious meaning with reference to the 'Captivity of the land' of Israel in the time of Pekah, 2K.xv.29, when Tiglath-Pileser, king of Assyria, took captive 'all Gilead and Galilee, and all the land of Naphtali,' (the district in which the town of Dan was situated, and that part of the tribe of Dan with which we are here concerned,) more than three centuries and a half after the capture of the Ark and the death of Eli. And so says KUENEN, p.203, who, however, refers the expression rather to a still later date, that of the Captivity of the Ten Tribes by Shalmaneser. In either case it would follow that this statement in Ju.xviii.30 is a very much later interpolation in the original story.

444. And that it is an interpolation seems to be indicated by the form of it. The original writer would hardly have repeated himself in this way in two consecutive verses, v.30, וַיִּקְּמוּ לָהֶם בְּגִידֵן אֶת-הַפֶּסֶל, 'and the children of Dan set up for themselves the graven image,' &c. and v.31, וַיִּשְׂמוּ לָהֶם אֶת-בִּצָּל, וַיִּשְׂמוּ לָהֶם אֶת-בִּצָּל, 'and they set up for themselves the graven image, which Micah had made.' It will be seen that the sense of the passage is quite complete without v.30, and it may be observed that a different word is used in this verse for 'set up,' viz. וַיִּקְּמוּ, from that used in v.31, וַיִּשְׂמוּ. Now the latter verb is employed in the Elohist and Jehovistic passages of the Pentateuch for 'setting up' a stone, altar, image, heap, &c., G.xxviii.11,18,22, E.xl.26,28,30, N.xxi.8,9, whereas the former only is used in a similar sense by the Deuteronomist in D.xvi.22, xxvii.2,4, and Lev.xxvi.1, (which we shall find to be also due to his hand,) and is never so employed by the other writers. But the Deuteronomist wrote, as will be shewn,—and as BLEEK even admits, while maintaining that a great part of the Pentateuch is truly of Mosaic origin,—about the days of Josiah, and, as we shall also see, appears to have retouched, here and there, and, as it were, reedited the first four books of the Pentateuch.

445. It would seem then that this later writer, living about 80 years after the second 'Captivity,' and 100 years after the former one, meant to convey some information as to the family of priests, who had long conducted the idolatrous worship of the tribe of Dan, from time immemorial down to the period of the Captivity. It can hardly be believed, however, that from the time of Moses' grandson, or from the time of his descendant before the days of Samuel, down to that of the Captivity, for four hundred years at least, one family of priests officiated at Dan, or that the genealogy of the idolatrous priests could be traced up with certainty to so distant a parentage, far back into the rude times of the Judges, by one who wrote nearly a century after the termination of their office. It is quite possible, however, that in some *later* age, as *e.g.* in the time of Jeroboam,—who 'made two calves of gold,' and 'set the one in Bethel, and the other put he in Dan,' 1K.xii.28,29, and who, therefore, evidently *remodelled*, at all events, the idolatrous worship at Dan, such a priest as Jonathan may really have been stationed at Dan, and his family may have retained his priesthood till the last. The Deuteronomist may have been aware of the fact that they traced back their office to such a distant time, 250 years before the 'Captivity of the land;' and he may have inserted this verse as a record of the circumstance, connecting this latter priesthood with the story of the first establishment of idolatrous worship at Dan. In the age of Jeroboam, of course, there is no reason why the name of the priest at Dan should not have been Jonathan.

The *original* writer seems to have meant to say that the Danites continued idolaters all along, neglecting the worship of the central sanctuary, while other Israelites frequented the 'House of God in Shiloh.' He does not say that the children of Dan ceased to be idolaters, when that 'House of God' was destroyed. Nor, in fact, is there any reason to suppose that they did abandon

their idolatrous practices, or that they were at all likely to have been affected by that event, as they lived far away from this central sanctuary, and seem to have had no connection whatever with it.

446. Upon the whole, then, we conclude that there is no single instance in the authentic history, from the time of Moses downwards to that of Samuel, which can be appealed to, as distinctly showing that the name Jehovah was used in the formation of proper names in those days,—except, as before, the cases of Joshua and Jochebed. And yet, according to the Jehovist, the one name was, from the very first, as commonly in use as the other; and, according to the Chronicler, names, compounded with Jehovah, were common from the age of Jacob downwards, and were even given to converts from heathenism, as in the case of Bithijah, the daughter of Pharaoh, 1Ch.iv.18. Even if Samuel, or the Elohist, whoever he may have been, did not himself invent or introduce this Name, yet there must have been some reason for the earnestness with which he evidently seeks to commend it to his people, by means of the solemn story of its introduction in E.iii.vi. It *may* have been already in use, but not very commonly employed, as the *entire absence*, or, in any case, the *extreme paucity*, of names compounded with it undoubtedly proves. And highly approving of it, from the meaning which he himself attached to it, as expressing ‘He who Is,’ the only Living and True God, he may have done his best in this way to make it a household word in Israel. My own conviction, however, from the accumulated evidence of various kinds before us, is that Samuel was the first to form and introduce the Name, perhaps in imitation of some Egyptian Name of the Deity which may have reached his ears. There can be no doubt that, in those days, there was free intercourse between the residents in Palestine and the Egyptians. And, in fact, SAMUEL’S OWN sons were stationed by himself as ‘judges in

Beersheba,' 1S.viii.1,2, and this town was in the extreme south of Palestine, on the frontiers of Egypt.

447. In Ju.v, however, which contains the Song of Deborah, we have some phenomena which require attentive consideration.

‘Jehovah, when Thou wentest out of Seir,
When Thon marchedst out of the field of Edom,
The earth trembled, and the heavens dropped,
The clouds also dropped water :
The mountains melted from before Jehovah,
That Sinai from before Jehovah, the God of Israel.’ v.4,5.

Here we have a distinct reference to the *story*, at all events, of the Exodus and the giving of the Law under Sinai, if not to the actual record of that story, which is now in our hands. And in this passage, as well as throughout the song, the word Jehovah is familiarly used. It is important, therefore, to determine, if we can, in what age this Song was actually written. It professes, of course, to be the Song actually uttered by ‘Deborah and Barak,’ though the very fact, that the two are joined together in singing it, rather militates against the notion of its genuineness, and seems to indicate, at all events, that it is an *aristict composition*, and not the unpremeditated effusion of the moment of triumph.

448. And, certainly, there are parts of the Song, which appear, at first sight, to imply that it was composed at a very early date, perhaps, in the age to which its contents refer, and not later, at all events, than the days of Samuel.

(i) *Judah* is not mentioned at all, which seems to correspond to a time before David’s accession to the throne,—before even the 30,000 men of Judah followed the standard of Saul, 1.S.xi.8.

(ii) *Levi* is not named, nor is there any reference whatever, throughout the Song, to the Priesthood or the Sanctuary.

This also corresponds to a time, earlier than the days of

David, in whose reign (as we shall see more fully hereafter) the Levites, after the bringing up of the Ark, were called into greater activity, and into a more prominent position, than they appear to have occupied during the time of the Judges, — *the Levites, as a body, being never once mentioned throughout the whole book of Judges.*

(iii) The expression in v.10, 'Ye that ride on white asses,' suits the same early time; but then, as such asses or mules were used by chief persons, 1S.xxv.20, 2S.xvi.2, xvii.23, xix.26, 2S.xiii.29, 1K.i.33,38,44, down to the time of Solomon, this argument cannot be regarded as a *proof* of the great antiquity of the Song.

449. On the other hand, we must observe —

(i) The Song is thoroughly *Jehovistic* as regards the use of the Divine Name (E.2,J.13): and it is inconceivable that, if the word Jehovah was used so freely at *that* time, David should have used it so sparingly till a late period of his life.

(ii) The language in v.8, 'Was there a shield or spear seen among forty thousand in Israel?' seems to refer to the early times of Saul and Samuel, 1S.xiii.19–22.

(iii) Some expressions of the story are *identical* with those of Ps.lxviii, as is exhibited below by the *italics* of the English version.

Ju.v.

Ps.LXVIII.

ו.4. יְהוָה בְּ
בְּצַעֲדָהּ מִשְׁתָּדָה

ו.8. אֱלֹהִים בְּצִמְצֻמָּהּ לִפְנֵי עַמָּהּ
בְּיִשְׁמֹחַ

ו.5. הָרִים גָּזְלוּ מִפְּנֵי יְהוָה

מִפְּנֵי אֱלֹהִים
יְהוָה סִינִי

v.3, To *Jehovah* I will *sing*, I will *sing praise*
• to *Jehovah*.

v.4, *Sing* to *Elohim*, *sing praise* to His Name.

v.4, *Jehovah*, in *Thy going out* from *Seir*,
In thy marching from the field of *Edom*,
The earth trembled, the heavens also dropped,
The clouds also dropped water.

v.7, *Elohim*, in *Thy going out* before Thy people,
In Thy marching in the wilderness,

v.8, *The earth trembled*, the heavens too dropped,

v.5, *Before Jehovah* the mountains melted,
That Sinai before *Jehovah*, the *Elohim* of
Israel.

Before Elohim,
That Sinai before *Elohim*, the *Elohim* of
Israel.

‘ Compare also שָׁבָה שְׁבִיָּה, v.12, *lead thy captivity captive*, with
שְׁבִיָּה שְׁבִי, ‘*Thou hast led captivity captive*,’ Ps.lxviii.18(19).

450. From the above it seems to be certain that either the Psalmist was acquainted with the Song of Deborah, and borrowed expressions from it, or that the writer of that song drew his ideas from the Psalms of David. The resemblance in the first pair of passages might be regarded as accidental. But it seems impossible that this should be the case with the latter pair, where phrase after phrase is repeated, identically the same, in the same order. Which, then, of these two poems was first written?

451. We reply, without hesitation, *the Psalm*. For it is far more probable that a later writer might change *Elohim* into *Jehovah*, than David change *Jehovah*, the covenant-name of the God of Israel, into *Elohim*; more especially in the last clause, in which he has actually written ‘before *Elohim*, the *Elohim* of Israel,’ where the other has ‘before *Jehovah*, the *Elohim* of Israel.’ Besides which, v.7,8 of the Psalm are manifestly part of the context. Our argument, in short, is this. Of the two phrases, ‘*Elohim*, the *Elohim* of Israel,’ and ‘*Jehovah*, the *Elohim* of Israel,’ it seems certain that the former was the original expression, and that the latter was derived from it. But the former belongs to the *Psalm*, which was, consequently, older than the *Song*.

There is an appearance also in the Song of an *expansion* of the words of the Psalm; thus the expressions ‘from *Seir*,’ ‘from the field of *Edom*,’ of the Song, seem equivalent to the

simple words, 'in the wilderness,' of the Psalmist; and so also the phrases 'The clouds also dropped water,' 'The mountains melted,' are merely amplifications of the older language.

452. We conclude, then, that the 'Song of Deborah' was written *after* Ps.lxviii, that is, after the middle part of David's life, perhaps, towards the close of it, two or three centuries after the time of Barak and Deborah, by a writer who, except in the free use of the word Jehovah, has produced an admirable imitation of an ancient song, a 'Lay of Ancient Israel,' and thrown himself thoroughly into the spirit of the age which he describes.

CHAPTER XX.

THE JEHOVISTIC NAMES IN THE BOOKS OF SAMUEL.

453. WE now pass on to the First Book of Samuel. Here, throughout the first chapters, we do not meet with a single name compounded with Jehovah; though we find *Elkanah* and *Elihu*, i.1, *Eli*, i.9, *Samuel*, ii.18, *Eleazar*, vii.1. In vi.18 we 'read 'which stone remaineth in the field of *Joshua* the Bethshemite *unto this day*;' where the name *Joshua* is compounded with Jehovah, but evidently belongs to a man living in the time when this passage was written, which is shown by the expression 'unto this day' to have been a considerably later time than that of the event in question, that is, than the time of Samuel.

454. Then we read, 'when Samuel was *old*, he made his sons judges over Israel; now the name of his first-born was *Joel*, and the name of his second, *Abiah*,' viii.1,2. It is certainly remarkable that the name of Samuel's first-born son should be *Joel*, which Gesenius explains to mean, 'Jehovah is Elohim,' and which, in fact, is merely a contraction of the compound name, Jehovah-Elohim. This suits singularly with our view that Samuel was introducing the new name, at the very time when his son had this name given to him. In 1Ch.vi.28 we are told that the name of Samuel's eldest son was *Vashni*. If we could rely on this information, it would suggest that *Vashni* was the name originally given to him, as handed down in the family records, to which the Chronicler is supposed to have had access; and that, though his father gave him afterwards the name *Joel*, when he decided to adopt the new Name for the God of Israel,

yet it was not that by which he was commonly known. The name of Samuel's second son was Abiah, i.e. 'Jehovah is my father.' Then we find Abiel, ix.1; but Aphiah in the same verse is in Hebrew אֶפְיָה, and is not compounded with Jehovah.

455. We next meet with Jonathan, 'Jehovah gave,' the son of Saul, xiii.2. Now Saul himself was a young man, ix.2, when he sought his father's asses, and first made acquaintance personally with Samuel; and at that time Samuel was old, and had already made his sons judges over Israel, viii.1,2. Hence the Name Jehovah had been published certainly, judging only from *their* names, for twenty or thirty years at least; and there is no reason why Saul's son should not have borne a name compounded with it, after the example of the Prophet's two sons. This is said, supposing that Jonathan was already grown up, to be a youth of, at least, seventeen or eighteen, when he was placed in command of a thousand of his father's troops, xiii.2, two years after Saul came to the throne.

456. But, even if he had been then only *seventeen* years old, (which we can hardly suppose,) he would have been twenty-five at the birth of David, and *fifty-five*, when he fell at Gilboa, and when David, aged *thirty*, mourned over him thus: 'I am distressed for thee, my brother Jonathan; very pleasant hast thou been unto me; thy love to me was wonderful, passing the love of women,' 2S.i.19-27. This song is undoubtedly genuine. And it can scarcely be believed that so romantic an attachment would have existed between David and one old enough to have been his father. In fact, the chronology of the earlier part of Saul's life is very confused and uncertain. The account in 1S.ix, of Saul's first meeting with Samuel, would seem to imply that he was then but a young man, who could not have had a son fourteen years old. Nor is it possible to read the account of the death of Saul, and the words of David's lamentation over him,—'Saul and Jonathan were lovely and pleasant in their lives, and in their deaths they were not divided; they

were swifter than eagles, they were stronger than lions,' 2S.i.23 — and believe that Saul was then about *seventy-five* years old, (as he must have been if Jonathan was fifty-five,) and that he was about seventy, when he hunted David in the wilderness.

457. It seems plain, then, that the account of Jonathan's exploit in 1S.xiii.2, &c. must refer to a much later part of Saul's life than it there appears to do. And now there is nothing to prevent our supposing that Saul was really a young man, when he had his first interview with Samuel, as the story throughout seems to imply, and, probably, unmarried. If, however, we suppose that Jonathan was born *after* Saul's intimacy with the Prophet,—perhaps, even after he had come to the throne,—we shall have Jonathan and David more nearly contemporaries, and it will be much more natural and probable that David should have married Jonathan's sister Michal. In that case, it would be easy to account for the name of Jonathan having been given to Saul's eldest son, after Saul's communications with Samuel,—more especially since Saul himself had 'prophesied' amidst the company of Prophets, x.10, in other words, had joined in chanting their Psalms, in which, most probably, the Name itself, Jehovah, occurred.

458. We next meet with the name of *Aliah*, 'the son of Ahitub, Ichabod's brother,' xiv.3. Ichabod, we are told, was born at a time, when all Israel already 'knew that Samuel was established to be a Prophet of Jehovah,' iv.21,—when, therefore, Samuel was grown up to manhood. We have no means of knowing how much older Ahitub was than his brother: but we may assume that he was not much older, and was, consequently, in the generation junior to that of Samuel,—of about the same age, in fact, as Samuel's own sons. From the close relations, in which Samuel lived with Eli and his family, it can scarcely be doubted that both Ahitub and Ichabod, after their parents' death, came much under his influence,—probably, were trained

up by himself. Thus it is easy to account for Ahitub also giving to his son a name compounded with the new word Jehovah, and a name which has a strange resemblance to that of Samuel's younger son. That was *Abiah*, 'Jehovah is my father'; this is *Ahiah* or, rather, *Akhiah*, 'Jehovah is my brother,'—for, strange as it may appear, this seems to be the only meaning that can be assigned to the word.

459. After this we meet with *Eliab*, xvi.6, and *Adriel*, xviii.19: and then we have *Joab*, xxvi.6, son of *Zeruiah*, David's sister, 1Ch.ii.16, both of which names are compounded with Jehovah. Supposing *Zeruiah* to have been even ten years older than her youngest brother, David, still, at the time of her birth, Samuel's two sons, with the sacred Name mixed up in their names, were already old enough to have been set as judges over Israel. And, if *her* name contained Jehovah, it is natural enough that her son's should contain it. He may, in fact, have been called *Joab* in imitation of his uncle's name, *Eliab*.

460. In 2Samuel we have several names compounded with Jehovah. We find *fourteen* compounded with El, viz. *Phaltiel*, iii.15,—four of David's sons, *Elishua*, v.15, *Elishama*, *Eliada*, *Eliphalet*, v.16,—*Ammiel*, xvii.27, *Eleazar* xxiii.9, *Kabzeel*, the name of a place, v.20. *Asahel* and *Elhanan*, v.24, *Elika*, v.25, *Eliabha*, v.32, *Eliphelet* and *Eliam*, v.34; but there are also *eleven* names compounded with Jehovah, viz. *Adonijah* and *Shephatiah*, David's fourth and fifth sons, iii.4, *Jedidiah*, a name given to Solomon, xii.25, *Jonadab*, David's nephew, xiii.3, *Jonathan*, the son of *Abiathar*, xv.27, *Benaiah*, *Jehoiada*, and *Jehoshaphat*, xx.23,24, another *Benaiah*, xxiii.30, *Jonathan*, v.32, and *Uriah* the Hittite, v.39. These seem all to have been younger men than David, and of about the same age as his eldest son, except *Jehoiada*, the father of *Benaiah*, who may have been about the age of David.

461. Thus we see that, in the time of David's manhood, it was not an unusual thing for parents to give their children

names compounded with Jehovah. Since, therefore, wherever lists of names occur in the Pentateuch, we do not find a single name of this kind, (except, as before, Joshua and Jochebed,) it would seem that the author or authors, to whom such lists are due, could hardly have lived *in a much later age than this*. On the other hand, since, in David's earlier Psalms, nay, even in his 'last words,' we have had clear evidence that the name Jehovah was, at the time of his writing, not in such free popular use as the name Elohim, this fact alone proves that all the Jehovistic portions of the Pentateuch were written *after* the time of David, or, at least, not before the latter part of his life.

462. Thus, then, even if it were conceivable that Moses should have written a story, about matters in which he was personally concerned, involving such contradictions, exaggerations, and impossibilities, as we have already had before us, yet the fact above noticed would alone be decisive against such a supposition. The great body of the Pentateuch, and all the other historical books which follow it, could not have been compiled until the Name Jehovah was in common popular use, and that was not till after, at all events, the middle of David's reign. Whereas the Elohist portions of the Pentateuch, which appear to have been composed, when the Name Jehovah was not in common use, and with the very purpose of commending it to popular acceptance, must have been written during, or shortly before, the earlier part of David's life, when that word was only occasionally employed by him. Hence we may, with very good reason, abide by our supposition that they were written, very probably by the hand, or, at least, under the direction, and certainly in the time, of SAMUEL.

463. HENGSTENBERG, i.277, disposes of the above important point, in a note as follows:—

'What Von BORTEN has adduced, in favour of his scheme of the first 'Rise of Jehovahism' in the days of David and Solomon, *scarcely deserves the name of*

argument (!). He appeals to *Proper Names* compounded with Jehovah, which first came into use contemporaneously *with*, or else *after*, the days of David. Every one immediately thinks of *Joshua*; and VON BOHLEN does not forget, but naturally avails himself of, the fact, that he was originally called Hoshea. This is, indeed, correct; but, if the name of Joshua was not a product of the Mosaic age, if it had not been given him, as the Pentateuch informs us, by Moses himself, how did it obtain universal acceptance among the people? It would be carrying mythical notions to an extravagant length to maintain that the nation had never retained the right name of their distinguished commander-in-chief,—that he received a new name in the age of David or Solomon.'

Ans. According to our view, Joshua was only a mythical or, perhaps, legendary personage, whose second name, compounded with Jehovah, certainly originated in an age not earlier than that of Samuel. At all events, there is no evidence that this new name *was* popularised, that it ever did 'obtain universal acceptance,' that Joshua ever was a well-known, popular, hero. His name is never mentioned in the later history, or by anyone of the Psalmists or Prophets, except in a reference to the book of Joshua, 1K.xvi.34.

'Yet let us now turn from what the author thought to that which escaped him, who so often asserted without examining, and that with inconceivable confidence. No small number of Proper Names, in the times preceding David, are compounded at the beginning with Jehovah. Thus Jochebed the mother of Moses, whose name certainly was not (?) of later formation, Joash, the father of Gideon, Jotham, Gideon's youngest son, Jonathan, Priest of the Danites in the time of the Judges, another Jonathan, 1Ch.ii.32, and so several more, [but only in the Chronicles.] Besides these, there are those names that stand on the same footing, which have an abbreviated Jehovah at the end, as Moriah, Ahijah, the son of Becher, the grandson of Benjamin, [in Chronicles], Bithiah [in Chronicles], &c.'

Ans. We have already considered all these instances, that of Jochebed (305), Joash and Jotham, as well as Micah, not mentioned by H. (436), Jonathan (438), Moriah (Ch.IX.X.), and the Chronicler's names (306, &c.), and we have seen that not one of them really militates against our theory.

'Thus much, however, is correct, that *names compounded with Jehovah become much more frequent from the time of Samuel*. [This is true according to the more authentic history, but *not* according to the Chronicler, who makes them quite as numerous long before the time of Moses.] But this lends no support to VON BOHLEN's view, and is easily explicable from facts, which the accredited history presents to us. Owing to the prevalent view in Israel of the close correspondence of names and things, it could not be otherwise than that the powerful theocratic excitement in the times of Samuel and David would create a demand for the composition of Proper Names with the theocratic name of God, Jehovah; and, what at first proceeded from living reasons, would in aftertimes, (which leant upon that period, so splendid both externally and internally,) be adopted from

standing usage. What an effect the state of the public mind has on names has been exemplified clearly among ourselves by the relation of names, in an age of unbelief, to those of the preceding believing times. Since the Proper Names, compounded with Jehovah, had not yet had sufficient time to become naturalised, and since, in the period of the Judges, *only a few living roots were in existence from which such names could be formed* [how can this be said, if there were so many names in the Mosaic age compounded with Elohim? (301, 302)], we might expect beforehand not to find them very numerous at that time.'

Ans. But, according to the Chronicles, we *do* find them common enough from the time of Jacob downward. Setting aside, however, his statement as manifestly fictitious, we agree with HENGSTENBERG, (though looking at the matter from a very different point of view), that the 'powerful theocratic movement, in the times of Samuel,' *did* 'create a demand for such names,' which, according to our view, that same age originated; and thus we also believe with him that such names had not yet had 'sufficient time to become naturalised.'

464. We have thus something like firm ground to stand upon, as the result of this inquiry, and can at once account for many of the strange phenomena, which we observe in the Pentateuch. The earliest portions of it, including the account of the Exodus itself, or, rather, as we shall see, *the first scanty sketch of it*, were written four hundred years, at least, after the supposed time of the Exodus, three hundred of which, according to the story, passed amidst the stormy and disorderly period of the Judges, which can only be compared with the worst times of Anglo-Saxon England. The chronology, indeed, of the Judges is, notoriously, very confused and contradictory; and it is quite possible that *a much shorter space of time* than three hundred years may really have elapsed, since the movement took place, which, as we believe, lay at the basis of the Elohist narrative. During that period, however, it seems very unlikely that any historical records were written, or, if written, were preserved,—preserved by *whom*? Later writers, at all events, mention no historians of earlier date than Samuel, Nathan, and Gad; so that whoever wrote the Book of Judges wrote, most probably, from the mere legends and traditions of the people.

465. Thus, then, it is not necessary to suppose that the narra-

tive of Samuel is a pure fiction, an invention of the Prophet's own imagination, in short, merely a 'pious fraud.' It is very possible that there may have been, as we have said, floating about in the memories of the Hebrew tribes, many legendary stories of their ancestors, and of former great events in their history,—how they once fled in a large body out of Egypt, under an eminent leader, such as Moses,—how they had been led through that 'great and terrible wilderness,' had encamped under the dreadful Mount, with its blackened peaks and precipices, as if they had been burnt with fire (83),—how they had lost themselves in the dreary waste, and struggled on through great sufferings, and many died, but the rest fought their way at last into the land of Canaan, and made good their footing among the tribes which they found there, by whom they were called Hebrews, that is, people who had 'crossed' the Jordan.* Precisely the same expression is used by the natives of Natal in speaking of those Zulus, who from time to time have been driven by fear, or have migrated for other reasons, from their native land lying to the north of the British colony, and 'crossed' the large frontier river, the Tugela, into the Natal district, either before or after it came under British rule. It is quite customary to speak of them, simply, as *abawelayo*, 'people who have crossed,' or, perhaps, the movement may be more closely defined, 'who crossed with Umpande,' or whoever the principal person may have been.

466. It is conceivable that the recollections of that terrible march may have left indelible traces on the minds of the people, and may have been exaggerated, as is the case with legends generally, while circulated in their talk, and passed on by word of mouth, from sire to son, in the intervening age. In this way, natural facts may have been magnified into prodigies, and a few thousands multiplied into two millions of people. It

* It is possible, of course, that they may have obtained this name, as some suppose, from 'crossing' the Euphrates.

is quite possible that the passage of the Red Sea, the manna, the quails, and other miracles, may thus have had a real historical foundation, as will be shown more fully in our critical review of the different Books of the Pentateuch. And Samuel may have desired to collect these legends, and make them the basis of a narrative, by which he, being dead, might yet speak to them with a Prophet's voice, and, while rejected by them himself as a ruler, might yet be able patriotically to help forward their civil and religious welfare under kingly government, and more especially under the rule of his favourite David, whose deep religious feeling accorded with his own sentiments so much more fully than the impetuous, arbitrary, character of Saul. His annual journeys of assize, when 'he went from year to year in circuit to Bethel, and Gilgal, and Mizpeh, and judged Israel in all those places,' 1S.vii.16, would have given him good opportunities for gathering such stories, as well as for knowing thoroughly the different parts and places of the country, to which such legends were attached. He may have spent a great part of his life, especially the latter part of it since Saul came to the throne, and he was himself relieved from the cares of government, in the elaboration of such a work as this, filling up from his own mind, we may conceive, the blanks left in such legendary accounts, and certainly imparting to them their high religious tone and spiritual character.

CHAPTER XXI.

SUMMARY OF THE RESULTS IN PART II.

467. IN the Third Part of this work, I shall enter into a close examination of the Book of Genesis, and shall seek to assign the different parts of the book, with such degree of probability as the case admits of, to their respective authors. I shall endeavour to make this part of the subject as clear and intelligible as I can to the English reader, who may have no acquaintance with the Hebrew language; though, of course, to a Hebrew scholar, or even to one who has a mere elementary knowledge of Hebrew, the arguments will be still more convincing. I trust, however, that no reader, who will be willing to give his close attention to the minute discussion of the book of Genesis, as it will be there set forth,—and in a question of such deep interest and importance, I may surely rely on thus far securing the reader's cooperation,—will find himself unable to follow the course of the reasoning; and, if so, I entertain no doubt as to his arriving with me at the same *general* results.

468. HUPFELD writes as follows, *Die Quellen der Genesis*, p.1:—

The discovery, that the Pentateuch is put together out of various sources or original documents, is beyond all doubt, not only one of the most important, and most pregnant with consequences, for the interpretation of the historical books of the O.T., or rather, for the whole theology and history, but it is also one of the *most certain* discoveries, which have been made in the domain of criticism and the history of literature. Whatever the anticritical party may bring forward to the contrary, it will maintain itself, and not retrograde again through anything, so

long as there exists such a thing as criticism; and it will not be easy for a reader, upon the stage of culture on which we stand in the present day, if he goes to the examination unprejudiced, and with an uncorrupted power of appreciating the truth, to be able to ward off its influence. *Rather, many a one, I believe, through continually new confirmations in the course of his own observation, will have an inward experience, a 'witness of the spirit,' to its truth.* No longer does it require to be proved, or maintained as well-grounded; it needs only further *improvement*, the perception and correction of its application in details, in the distinction and distribution of the parts due to the different original sources, as well as the detection of their relationship, and of the kind of way in which they were compounded into a whole.

469. In conformity with HUFFELD's words, above italicised, I would venture to express the hope that many of my readers, whether students of Hebrew or not, may be induced, in the meanwhile, to attempt for themselves the separation of the Book of Genesis into its two component parts, due to the Elohist and Jehovist, respectively. The reader, who is no Hebrew scholar, will only have to observe the distinctive marks of the two writers, as notified in (205), and to remember that the words 'Elohim' and 'Jehovah' are represented in the E.V. by God and LORD, respectively. Whoever will set himself down to this work, will find it a very interesting study, and will, as HUFFELD has observed, very soon arrive by himself at such a conviction of the reality of the main result of this criticism, as will decide the question in his own mind for ever. It is true, he will sometimes be at a loss as to the details; he will not always be able to pronounce with certainty whether this or that particular verse or passage is an interpolation of the later writer into the original narrative; and he will be interested to compare, on different points, the conclusions of his own mind with those of others. But if two or more friends, not deficient in ordinary acuteness and power of observation, will separately engage themselves in this work, they will undoubtedly find such a *general* agreement in their results, as will satisfy them that the notion of two distinct writers being concerned in the composition of the book of Genesis is not a mere fancy of critics, but a

fact, which it becomes us as true men, and servants of the God of Truth, to recognise, whatever may be the consequences, however it may require us to modify our present views of the Mosaic system, or of Christianity itself.

470. In a matter so difficult and intricate as this, it is, of course, not surprising that there should still be differences of opinion among critics with respect to some matters of detail, though gradually the limits of such differences are becoming more and more narrowed, while on the main point, viz. the fact of the existence of documents of different ages in the Pentateuch, there is almost unanimous agreement among all who have devoted themselves to the close examination of the question. Some, for instance, as HUFFELD, believe that they can trace the hands of *two* Elohistic writers in the book of Genesis; while others, as BLEEK, maintain that there is only *one*. We shall have occasion to consider this question in the next Part of this work, and shall be able to come to a decision with respect to it, when the evidence is fairly before us. But for the present the reader need not be troubled with these considerations. If there was only one Elohist, he was, according to our view, Samuel. If there were two, they were men of the same age, who wrote in the same spirit; such, for instance, as Samuel and one of his *elder* pupils or friends; though the history points to no one, who was likely to have been so thoroughly associated with him in his lifetime in such a work. The reader, in fact, would find no strong marks of distinction in style between the parts of the story, supposed to be due to these two Elohistic writers. It will be sufficient, however the case may be in reality, that he should for the present, at all events, regard the Elohistic matter as due to one single hand.

471. A more important question has arisen among critics, as to the character of the two documents. Was the Jehovistic narrative a second original record, wholly independent of the other? Or did the writer merely intend to *supplement* the

older one, which he had before him when he wrote? HUFFELD maintains the former view of the case. But, though very unwilling to differ from one of the most original and clear-sighted of modern critics, I am myself, at the present time, convinced by the evidence that the Jehovist merely wrote to enlarge, amend, and illustrate, the work of the older writer. A single glance at the Jehovistic insertions, which have been made in the account of the Deluge, will, I think, satisfy, the minds of most readers, that these disjointed fragmentary passages, which contain no account of the building of the Ark, of Noah's entering in or coming out of it, could never have been taken out of a complete story which lay before a later editor, who is to be supposed to have selected passages at his pleasure from either document, and made thus a patchwork of the whole.

472. Further, critics are still not agreed as to the different ages in which the different parts of the Pentateuch were written. I hope that some of the investigations in this volume — especially the discussions in Chap. XII–XVIII—may help to throw some clearer light upon this point. Without, however, perplexing the reader with the different opinions which have been mooted on this subject, I will here state the conclusions to which I have myself been led, as the results of the present enquiry, and for which I shall produce, as we proceed, confirmatory evidence, in addition to that which has been already advanced.

473. The following are the principal steps of the argument, as it has been developed up to this point.

(i) There are different authors concerned in the composition of the book of Genesis, whose accounts in some respects contradict each other.

(ii) One of these authors is distinguished by abstaining altogether from the use of the name Jehovah in that book, while the other uses it freely from the first.

(iii) The former writer composed also E. vi, as all critics

admit, and as internal evidence shows; and it would seem from this chapter that he designedly forbore the use of the name Jehovah, until he had announced its revelation to Moses.

(iv) Either the name *was* actually made known to Moses, in the way described, or else, it is plain, the Elohist must have had some special reason for commending it in this way to the reverence of those for whom he wrote.

(v) If the name *was* first revealed to Moses at this time, then the Jehovistic story, which puts it in the mouths of persons of all classes from the days of Eve downwards, cannot be historically true; and this involves at once the historical truth of all the other statements of the Jehovist.

(vi) And this unreal character of his story is further confirmed by the fact that, amidst the multitude of names which are given in the book of Genesis, down to the age of Joseph, though there are numerous names compounded with ELOHIM, there is not a single one compounded with JEHOVAH.

(vii) But the impossibilities, which we have found existing throughout the whole story of the Exodus, are equally conclusive against the historical truth of the whole.

(viii) We must return, then, to the other supposition, viz. that the Elohist had some special reason for commending the Name to the regard and veneration of the people.

(ix) The most natural reason would be that he himself was introducing it, as a new Name for the God of Israel.

(x) We find an indication of the fact that the Name did not exist before the time of SAMUEL, in the circumstance that, throughout the history in the book of Judges, there is no single name which can be appealed to with confidence as compounded with Jehovah, while there are names compounded with the Divine Name in the form of EL.

(xi) During and after the time of Samuel we observe, in the books known by his name, a gradually increasing partiality for the use of names compounded with Jehovah, while not one

name of this kind occurs at such an age, as is inconsistent with the supposition that this name may have been introduced by SAMUEL.

(xii) Hence arises the suspicion that SAMUEL was the Elohist; and the position he held, together with the circumstances of his time, and the accounts which are handed down as to his doings, and especially the tradition with respect to his historical labours, tend strongly to confirm this suspicion.

(xiii) It is further confirmed, and, as it seems to me, confirmed almost to a certainty, by the fact that David, in his earlier Psalms, as Ps.li, Ps.lx, Ps.lxviii, made little or no use of the name Jehovah, while in his later Psalms he seems to have used it more freely; and the same appears to be true of other Psalmists of that age.

(xiv) We conclude, then, with some degree of confidence, that SAMUEL was the Elohistic writer of the Pentateuch.

(xv) Since the Jehovistic writer makes free use of the name Jehovah, he must have written in a later age than the early days of David, and not earlier than the latter part of David's life, when the name became more common, and names began to be compounded with it freely.

(xvi) This is confirmed by finding that one Jehovistic passage, N.x.35, is manifestly copied from a Psalm of David, the name Elohim, which David used, being changed to Jehovah.

(xvii) But this later writer can hardly have lived *long* after Samuel, and the time of the introduction of the name Jehovah; since even *he* does not introduce freely into the story names compounded with Jehovah, as a later writer would most probably have done, though he uses freely the Name itself.

(xviii) In point of fact, we shall find reason to believe that all those portions of the first four books and the book of Joshua, which are not due to the Elohist, were composed by one or more writers who wrote in the latter days of David, and in the early part of Solomon's reign,—with the exception of some interpo-

lations, of which a few smaller ones occur in Genesis, but larger ones in Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers, and Joshua.

(xix) These interpolations are all due to the same hand, that of the Deuteronomist, who revised the book as it stood in his time, and added to it almost the whole book of Deuteronomy.

(xx) The book of Deuteronomy was written about the time of Josiah, and, as some suppose, by the hand of the prophet Jeremiah.

474. The last three points will have to be considered at length in Part III, as we shall need to form an estimate of the style and character of the book of Deuteronomy, in order to be able to detect the passages due to its author in the books of Genesis, Exodus, &c.

For the present, it will be sufficient to draw attention to the fact that, in the other four books, the Priests are *invariably* called the 'sons of Aaron,' L.i.5,7,8,11, ii.2, iii.2, xiii.2, N.x.8, comp. L.xxi.21, *never* the 'sons of Levi;' whereas in Deuteronomy they are called, *invariably*, the 'sons of Levi' or 'Levites,' D.xvii.9,18, xviii.1,* xxi.5, xxiv.8, xxvii.9, xxxi.9, *never* the 'sons of Aaron;' and, in fact, the Deuteronomist distinctly mentions *Levi*, xviii.1,5, xxxiii.8-11, not *Aaron*, as the root of the Priestly office and dignity.

475. It is obvious, of course, that the *same* writer, whether Moses or any one else, cannot be supposed to have changed so completely in one moment, as it were,—that is, in the time intervening between the last act recorded in the book of Numbers and that in the first chapter of Deuteronomy, which we have shown (174) to be an inappreciable interval,—not only his

* In D.xviii.1 we read, 'The Priests the Levites, all the tribe of Levi, shall have no part nor inheritance with Israel.' In the E.V. the sense of this passage is materially modified by the introduction of the conjunction 'and,'—'the Priests the Levites, *and* all the tribe of Levi,'—for which there is no warrant whatever in the original Hebrew.

tone and style, but his very phraseology, so as up to this point of time to have called the Priests invariably by one particular designation, and then suddenly to drop it, and call them ever afterwards by another. This single fact seems sufficient to decide the question whether the *whole* Pentateuch was written by *Moses*.

476. It does, however, more than this. It is one sign, among many others that will be produced in Part III, serving to indicate the state of things, with regard to the Priests and Levites, which existed in the *later* days, in which the book of Deuteronomy was written. For we find that the Priests are never called the ‘sons of Aaron’ by any one of the Prophets; and in the historical passage, 1K.xii.31, Jeroboam is not censured because he made Priests which were not of the sons of *Aaron*, but because he made Priests, ‘which were not of the seed of *Levi*.’ Nay, it is not a little remarkable that the name of Aaron is only once mentioned by all the Prophets, viz. in Mic.vi.4, ‘And I sent before thee Moses, Aaron, and Miriam.’ On the contrary the Priests are always styled by the Prophets, as by the Deuteronomist, ‘Levites,’ simply, or ‘sons of Levi,’ Jer.xxxiii.18,21,22, Ez.xliii.19, xlv.15, xlviii.13, Mal.iii.3, comp. Mal.ii.4,8, while the prophet Ezekiel distinguishes the *faithful* Priests by the title, ‘sons of *Zadok*,’ xl.46, xliii.19, xlv.15, xlviii.11.

477. That, however, the later Deuteronomist had no very strong sense of the unspeakable sacredness of the earlier document, is sufficiently plain by the liberties he has taken with its contents, by altering several of its expressions, and, in particular, modifying remarkably the Fourth Commandment. One would have thought that anyone—even Moses himself—while repeating words believed to be ineffably holy, which had not only been uttered in the ears of all Israel by Jehovah Himself, but, according to the story, written down by the Finger of God twice

over on the Tables of stone, would not have varied by a single word or letter from the Divine original.

478. Yet how stands the case in this respect? In the Hebrew there are several minor discrepancies, such as changes or additions of words, some of which may be observed in the English translation. But the latter part of the Fourth Commandment is completely altered, and a totally different reason is assigned, in the passage of Deuteronomy, for sanctifying the Sabbath, from that laid down in the book of Exodus, and, what is still more remarkable, without any reference to the latter reason as even existing.

479. The two passages in question are as follows:

E.xx.8-11.

Remember the Sabbath Day to keep it holy. Six days shalt thou labour and do all thy work. But the seventh day is the Sabbath of Jehovah thy God. In it thou shalt not do any work, thou, nor thy son, nor thy daughter, thy man-servant, nor thy maid-servant, nor thy cattle, nor thy stranger that is within thy gates. *For in six days Jehovah made heaven and earth, the sea and all that in them is, and rested the seventh day; WHEREFORE Jehovah blessed the Sabbath Day and hallowed it.*

D.v.12-15.

Keep the Sabbath Day to sanctify it, as Jehovah thy God hath commanded thee. Six days thou shalt labour, and do all thy work. But the seventh day is the Sabbath of Jehovah thy God. In it thou shalt not do any work, thou, nor thy son, nor thy daughter, nor thy man-servant, nor thy maid-servant, nor thine ox, nor thine ass, nor any of thy cattle, nor thy stranger that is within thy gates; that thy man-servant and thy maid-servant may rest as well as thou. *And remember that thou wast a servant in the land of Egypt, and that Jehovah, thy God, brought thee out thence, through a mighty hand, and by a stretched-out arm; THEREFORE Jehovah thy God commanded thee to keep the Sabbath Day.*

480. Upon the above we may remark as follows.

(i) Each writer distinctly *professes* to give the identical words *which were spoken by Jehovah Himself, at the very same point of time.*

Thus in Exodus we have, 'God spake all these words, saying, &c.' E.xx.1.

And in Deuteronomy we have, 'Jehovah talked with you, face to face, in the Mount, out of the midst of the fire saying, &c.' D.v.4,5. Also, 'These words Jehovah spake unto all your assembly in the Mount, out of the midst of the fire, of the cloud, and of the thick darkness, with a great voice, and He added no more. *And He wrote them in two Tables of stone, and delivered them unto me.*' v.22.

(ii) This excludes the notion that one passage gives a mere reminiscence of the other, which might be defective, or might vary in some points, without materially affecting the general credibility of the narrative.

(iii) Hence the two statements involve an absolute contradiction.

(iv) Independently of the above contradiction, the variation here observed is so remarkable that it cannot be supposed that *Moses* wrote the passage in Deuteronomy, either forgetting, or designedly modifying, the words of the original commandment, which he had received in so solemn and wonderful a manner.

(v) The variation, therefore, between these two passages, is enough of itself to show that the book of Deuteronomy, at all events, could not have been written by Moses.

(vi) From the agreement between the two passages there can be no doubt that the later Deuteronomist derived his ideas, and most of his expressions, from the passage in Exodus.

(vii) As the Deuteronomist ventured to make so important a change in this Commandment, it is plain that he did not think it a sacrilegious act to alter the original form of the command,—that, in short, he regarded it as merely a *human* composition, emanating from some writer, of a previous age.

481. Of course, it will be understood that it is impossible to speak with perfect certainty on the *details* of such points like these. And I shall be quite ready to abandon any portion of the ground which I have taken in this work, if further

consideration, and further comparison of my own results with those of others, shall show that my position is untenable. The main conclusions are established, as I believe, beyond all doubt. As to the details, we can only feel our way along with the utmost caution, with continued labour, and constantly repeated survey of the ground travelled over. It is true, the *hesitation* of a conscientious critic may be ridiculed as *uncertainty*, and the differences of sincere and earnest searchers after truth,—who, while they differ, reverence each other's honesty of purpose and painstaking efforts in the cause of truth, and rejoice that all are toiling, and each one contributing his portion, to one common result, the clearing away of the rubbish of ages, which has buried the real glory and excellency of the Hebrew Scriptures from the eyes of men,—may be made the subject of idle banterings, by those from whom we should have hoped for better things. Thus the Rev. H. J. ROSE writes (*Replies to 'Essays and Reviews,' p.73*):—

The fact is, that each book of the Pentateuch, and the whole work itself, is hunted up and down the four centuries between the time of David and the Captivity, till the heart and mind are wearied alike with fruitless enquiries, and hypotheses which have no foundation. Sometimes, it is written about the time of the Captivity; then it cannot be later than David: sometimes it is written before, sometimes after, the division of the kingdoms. *And the only conclusion left for the mind is, to wonder whether it was ever written at all!*

The above is almost the only argument in the 'Reply' aforesaid, which touches upon the questions discussed in this work.

482. Here also I may quote a very surprising passage from Dr. M'CAUL's Essay, *Aids to Faith*, p.190:—

'To discuss all the details of criticism would require volumes. But one alleged result, often stated in an off-hand, popular way, asserted with unhesitating confidence, and repeated as absolutely certain, requires notice. It is said, that in the book of Genesis there are some portions in which God is spoken of exclusively as Elohim, [while] in others [He is spoken of] exclusively as Jehovah.'

Ans. Dr. M'CAUL does not even state correctly the assertion which he is about to combat. No well-informed critic would maintain that Jehovah is used *exclusively* in Jehovistic passages. And the Essayist has not only committed this

mistake, but he proceeds actually to use it as the basis of an argument, as follows, (*Aids to Faith*, p.193):—

‘In order to make out the theory, that there are two authors, one of whom is known by the *exclusive* use of Elohim, and the other by the *exclusive* use of Jehovah, it is necessary to point out paragraphs in which those Divine Names are exclusively used, and also to prove that the Elohist does not refer to the Jehovistic document; for, if the Elohist plainly refers to what the Jehovist has related, the latter cannot be posterior to the former, and the theory fails.

‘Unhappily for the theory, the word Jehovah does occur in the Elohistic passages, and the Elohist does refer to the Jehovistic narrative. Thus in G.ii.4 the names occur together, — ‘These are the generations of the heavens and the earth when they were created, in the day when Jehovah Elohim made the earth and the heavens.’ Now if this verse belongs to what *precedes*, [which it does *not*,] then the following narrative, which has also the unusual union of the two names, was written by the *Elohist*, and the first three chapters are by one author. If it be written by the Jehovist, how comes it to have Elohim as well, and why does it differ both from Elohist and Jehovist documents by the union of the two names? Here is a difficulty, which has divided all Germany, and arrayed Rationalist against Rationalist, and *Orthodox against Orthodox*, and for which there seems no hope of solution, unless violence be offered to the text, and men be persuaded against the evidence of manuscripts and ancient versions, that the words, ‘These are the generations of the heavens and the earth,’ stood originally before i.1, and that the word Elohim in G.ii.4 is an interpolation of the Jehovist.’

Ans. It need hardly be said that Dr. M‘CAUL has conjured up a difficulty, which has no real existence, though, from the way in which it is here stated, an unlearned reader would probably imagine that it was a formidable objection to the results of modern criticism.

483. But Dr. M‘CAUL continues (p.190): —

‘This exclusive use of the one Divine Name in some portions, and of the other in other portions, it is said, characterises two different authors, living at different times; and, consequently, Genesis is composed of two different documents, the one Elohistic, the other Jehovistic, which, moreover, differ in statement; and [it follows] consequently, that this book was not written by Moses, and is neither inspired nor trustworthy.

‘Now, not to notice the defectiveness of this statement as to the names of God, who in Genesis is also called El, El Elyon, God Most High, El Shaddai, God Almighty, Adonai, Lord, nor the fact that in other books, as Jonah and the Psalms [*some of the Psalms*], the same exclusiveness is found, let us look at this statement as a supposed result of criticism.’

Ans. The ‘defectiveness of statement’ is only of Dr. M‘CAUL’s own imagining. No critic would deny the occurrence of these other names, one of which, indeed, as we have said, El Shaddai, is peculiar to the Elohist. We have seen also that the

examination of the book of Psalms leads to very important results with reference to the present question.

‘It is generally urged, as if on this point critics were all of one mind, agreed in the portions which are Elohistie or Jehovistic,—unanimous as to the characteristic differences of style in the separate portions, in fact, as if the theory came with the authority of universal consent. Were this the case, it would necessarily carry with it great weight. For, though the conclusions of criticism differ from the demonstrations of pure science and the inferences of induction, yet, when unanimously adopted by those competent to judge, they deservedly influence the minds of all reasonable persons.

‘But this is not the case in the present theory. The popular statement, given above, does not represent the true state of the case. The fact is that there is here the greatest variety of opinion, and the modifications of the above apparently simple theory are so widely divergent, as either to shake the value of the criticism, or throw a dark shade of doubt on the competence of the critics.’

Ans. I have never met with the above ‘popular statement.’ But it is not one, which would be made by any person well-informed upon the subject in question. No such person would assert that ‘critics were all of one mind, agreed in the portions which are Elohistie or Jehovistic;’ though he would say very confidently that they are all,—that is, such critics as are here referred to,—of one mind as to the existence of Elohistie and Jehovistic portions in Genesis, and are agreed in respect of *most* of them. Even KURTZ, as we have seen (218), is obliged to admit this conclusion, which being so ‘unanimously adopted by those competent to judge,’ should, therefore, ‘deservedly influence the minds of all *reasonable persons*.’

(i) ‘There is a difference as to the extent to which the theory is to be applied. Some confine it to the book of Genesis; others include Exodus to chap. vi; others assert that the Jehovistic and Elohistie differences can be recognised through the whole Pentateuch to the book of Joshua. Some regard Genesis as a loose and unsystematic stringing together of disjointed fragments.

(ii) ‘But, passing these by, let us look at the state of the Elohistie and Jehovistic theory, as stated by BLEEK, in his Introduction.’

Dr. M’CAUL then gives an abstract from BLEEK of the *history* of modern critical researches, from ASTRUC’s first suggestion in 1753 to the present time; as if differences of opinion of different critics with respect to the *details*,—viz. the *ages* of the different writers, and the *extent* to which their hands can be distinctly traced,—at all affected the main question, in which all are agreed, viz. that Elohistie and Jehovistic passages certainly exist in the book of Genesis, and as certainly are due to different authors of different ages.

‘This enumeration is far from exhausting the varieties, but is sufficient to show the want of unity. The reader will perceive that some assert *one* Elohistie document,—others, *two*,—others, *three*. In like manner some make *one* Jehovist, some

more. Some make the Jehovist identical with the *compiler*; others make him a different person. Some make *two*, others *three*, others *four*, EWALD *seven*, documents by different authors the materials of Genesis. Now every one can understand that there is a great difference whether the Elohistie and Jehovistic portions be assigned to one, or be divided amongst two, three, or more persons. He, who says that there is only one Elohist, must believe that in the whole Elohistie portion there is unity of style, tone, spirit, language. If there be two Elohist, then the former is mistaken as to the unity, and there must be two diversities of style; but, if there be three Elohist, then both first and second critics are mistaken, and there must be three different styles. The portions assigned to each must also be smaller. And thus the most celebrated critics convict each other of false criticism. HUPFELD condemns KNOBEL; EWALD condemns HUPFELD and KNOBEL; KNOBEL condemns EWALD and HUPFELD. If KNOBEL's criticism is correct, HUPFELD is worthless. If EWALD be right, the others must be deficient in critical acumen. They may all be wrong, but only one of the three can be right.'

Ans. Dr. M'CAUL has omitted to draw attention to the fact that HUPFELD, EWALD, and KNOBEL are all agreed as to the main points, and differ only in respect to details. The fact that they do so differ, and differ decidedly, is a strong proof of their *independence* of each other, and of the truth of that judgment in which they are all agreed. Of course, in respect to details, one critic may be expected to be more rash and hasty, or more deficient in critical acumen, than another. Dr. M'CAUL's argument might be just as easily turned against the defenders of the ordinary view: thus, it may be said, KURTZ condemns HENGSTENBERG, and HENGSTENBERG condemns KURTZ.

'But take into account the other differences enumerated above, one [supposing that the documents are pre-Mosaic, another that they were written in the times of Joshua or the Judges, another in the time of David, another some centuries later; and how uncertain must the principles of their criticism appear! how valueless their conclusions! With such facts, can any sane person talk of the results of modern criticism as regards the Book of Genesis, or be willing to give up the belief of centuries for such criticism as this?'

Ans. The reader will now be able to judge for himself by what kind of arguments the ordinary view is maintained in the present day by one of its most prominent English champions. All that can be said is, that the conclusions of criticism on some of the very difficult questions, which are raised by the closer examination of the Pentateuch, are not yet so thoroughly worked out as to command universal assent, and take their place among the positive results of science.

484. But still more amazing than the above extract is the following assertion, from one who has undertaken to give a crushing reply to 'Essays and Reviews,' (BURGON, *Inspiration and Revelation*, p.33):—

Long since has the theory that Genesis is composed of distinguishable fragments been exploded (!) The test of *Elohim* and *Jehovah* has been, by the Germans themselves, given up (!)

It cannot for a moment be believed that the writer has intentionally misrepresented the true state of the case, or that he would wish to mislead the young students of the University of Oxford, to whom he addresses himself, by representing that the entire theory of 'distinguishable fragments' is exploded, because critics are not unanimous in their judgments as to the composition of some particular passages. The only inference which can be drawn from such a statement as the above is, that he cannot have had any direct *personal* acquaintance with the subject, with reference to which he writes so positively, and passes such severe judgment upon others. He must have taken his opinions upon trust, and from writers of a bygone age, as is indicated by his supporting the above assertion by reference to the Rev. H. J. ROSE's *Hulsean Lectures for 1833*, written *thirty years* ago! Yet this is the same writer, who has allowed himself to say of Prof. JOWETT (*p.*clxxxvii):—

Common regard for the facts of the case ought to have preserved him from putting forth *so monstrous a falsehood* as the following: '*Among German commentators there is, for the first time in the history of the world, an approach to agreement and certainty.*'

When the quotations, which we have made in this work from German critics of our own age and of very different schools, such as the admissions of KURTZ and BLEEK, are considered, it is evident that there is, at least, *more* truth in Prof. JOWETT's statement of 'an *approach* to agreement and certainty' among them, than in BURTON's own assertion above considered.

CHAPTER XXII.

CONCLUDING REMARKS.

485. THE preceding investigations have led us to the conclusion that the Pentateuch most probably *originated* in a noble effort of one illustrious man, in an early age of the Hebrew history, to train his people in the fear and faith of the Living God. For this purpose he appears to have adopted the form of a history, based upon the floating legends and traditions of the time, filling up the narrative, we may believe,—perhaps, to a large extent,—out of his own imagination, where those traditions failed him. In a yet later day, though still, probably, in the same age, and within the same circle of writers, the work thus begun, which was, perhaps, left in a very unfinished state, was taken up, as we suppose, and carried on in a similar spirit, by other prophetic or priestly writers. To SAMUEL, however, we ascribe the Elohist story, which forms the groundwork of the whole, though comprising, as we shall show hereafter, but a small portion of the present Pentateuch and book of Joshua—in fact, little besides about half of the book of Genesis and a small part of Exodus.

486. But, in order to realise to ourselves in some measure the nature of such a work, as that which we here ascribe to Samuel, we may imagine such a man as Asser, in the time of King Alfred, sitting down to write an accurate account of events, which had happened four centuries before, when different tribes of Saxons, under Hengist and Horsa, and other famous leaders,

—the Old Saxons, Angles, Jutes, &c., all kindred tribes,—came over the sea at different times, in larger or smaller bodies, and took possession of the land of Britain. Yet Samuel's sources of information, for the composition of such a history, must have been far less complete than those which the Anglo-Saxon author would have had before him, when writing was so common, and, midway between the times of Hengist and Alfred, Venerable Bede had composed his history. The Saxon Chronicler, however, has no difficulty in filling up a genealogy, and traces up that of Alfred through Odin and his progenitors to 'Bedwig, who was the son of Sceaf, who was the son of Noah; he was born in Noah's Ark!' *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, Bohn's Ed. p.350.

487. In short, the same must be said of these old Hebrew annals as has been so justly observed of the records of our Anglo-Saxon times, (PEARSON, *Early and Middle Ages of England*, p.52):—

These narratives, even stripped of palpable additions, are clearly not quite historical . . . The three hundred thousand Saxons of the British account are like the three keels of the Saxon narrative, a mythical number, underlying, perhaps, a real national division. Moreover, the dates assigned to the battles occur suspiciously at regular intervals of eight years. Now eight was a sacred number among the Saxons. It is probable, therefore, that the whole chronology of the war was constructed in the ninth century, or whenever the Saxon Chronicle was written. *But this uncertainty as to details, and numbers, and dates, throws an air of doubt over the whole history.*

488. It would seem that large additions were made to this unfinished historical sketch of Samuel by his disciples, NATHAN and GAD, or by some other prophetic or priestly writers of that and the following age; and these included the principal Jehovistic portions of Genesis, as well as the greater part of the present books of Exodus, Leviticus, and Numbers. But though, as we believe, these portions of the Pentateuch were written, the history, when carefully examined, gives no sign of the Pentateuch itself being in existence in the age of Samuel, David, or Solomon,—much less of the Levitical laws being in

full operation, *known, honoured, revered, obeyed, even quoted or referred to*,—as the contents of a book, believed to be Mosaic and Divine, would certainly have been, at least, by the most pious persons of the day. We shall have occasion hereafter fully to discuss this question, and see how far the actual historical facts, which may be gathered from the books of Samuel and Kings, and the writings of the Prophets, tend to confirm the above conclusions. The book of Deuteronomy we have partly shown already, and shall show more fully, as has been said, in Part III, to have been written in a still later age.

489. I must now, in conclusion, take account of two classes of objections, which will undoubtedly be made to the above results. First, it will be said, ‘You will have us then believe that Samuel, Nathan, &c., were after all *deceivers*, who palmed upon their *own* countrymen, in the first instance, a gross fraud, which from that time to this has been believed to be the true Word of the living God.’ As one of my own friends has observed, ‘I would rather believe that two and two make five, than that such a man as SAMUEL could possibly have been guilty of so foul an offence against the laws of religious truth and common morality.’

490. I answer, in the first place, that for anyone, who is ready to believe that ‘two and two make five,’ if he finds it written down in the Bible, there is, as it seems to me, no alternative but to comply with this demand of a merely superstitious reverence for the outward letter, the husk, of the Bible, and abrogate the rights and duties of a reasoning being. For, undoubtedly, as I have shown, I believe, sufficiently in Part I, an unquestioning, implicit faith in all the details of the story of the Exodus, as recorded in the Pentateuch, involves, again and again, assent to propositions as monstrous and absurd as the above statement would be in arithmetic.

491. But, leaving such persons, I address myself to others, who believe that they are bound to use their faculties of mind, as

well as of body, in the service of the God who gave them, and that they cannot truly glorify God by setting up a falsehood, and bowing down and worshipping an idol of their own making, though it be in the form of a Book, the best of books, which they believe to reflect the very image of the Divine Mind. And to such as these I reply, ‘It is not *I*, who require you to abandon the ordinary notion of the Mosaic authorship and antiquity of the Pentateuch. It is the TRUTH itself which does so.’ It is impossible, as it appears to me, after the evidence brought forward in these pages,—independently of that which will be set before the reader hereafter, if God spare me strength for the work,—to maintain any longer that notion, with any due regard to Truth, and any sincere desire to please Him who is the God of Truth, and who requires us to receive and confess the Truth, whenever and however He is pleased to make it known to us, at any cost or sacrifice of our own present ease and comfort.

492. I believe that He calls upon us now in this age, in His Providence, as He did in the days of the Reformation, or of the first publication of Christianity, to make a complete revision of our religious views in this respect; and I believe that we shall best serve Him by giving ourselves reverently and devoutly, but piously and faithfully,—with a humble dependence on His help, and a calm and fearless trust in His guidance,—to the consideration of this great question of our day. It was said to them of old, ‘Thou shalt love Jehovah thy God with all thine *heart*, and with all thy *soul*, and with all thy *strength*,’ D.vi.5. It is Christianity which adds, ‘and with all thy *mind*, and thy neighbour as thyself,’ Lu.x.27, and which teaches us that from the ‘Father of Lights’ cometh ‘*every* good and perfect gift,’ Ja.i.17, and that He holds us responsible for using them all.

493. A true Christian, then, is not at liberty to lay aside, as inconvenient or discomfoting, any single *fact* of science, whether of critical or historical research, or of any other kind

which God in His gracious Providence is pleased to bring before him. He dares not bury this talent in a napkin, and go about his business, in his own way, as if he had never heard it, as if it were nothing. He is bound to turn it to account in the service of his Great Creator, to consider carefully how far it is true, and to what extent it *must*, therefore, interfere with notions which he had already, perhaps, registered as *certainties*, upon insufficient evidence. This duty is laid especially on those who have received gifts of other kinds,—education, leisure, opportunity, and, it may be, from peculiar circumstances, a special call for the work,—which many of their fellowmen have not, and which place them in more prominent positions, as leaders and guides of others.

494. We are bound, then, to consider carefully *what are the facts*, with respect to the composition of the Pentateuch, which a close critical investigation of the different books reveals to us. And here it is possible that a very wrong estimate may be formed on some points by a hasty judgment, from the conclusions to which our enquiry hitherto has led us, more especially with regard to the conduct and moral character of Samuel. In the first place, there is not, as has been said repeatedly already, the slightest reason to believe that the whole story is a *pure fiction*—that there was no residence of the Israelites in Egypt, no deliverance out of it. Upon consideration of the whole question, it is impossible not to feel that some real movement out of Egypt in former days *must* lie at the base of the Elohist story. It is almost inconceivable that such a narrative should have been written by Samuel, or anyone else, without some real tradition giving the hint for it. What motive, for instance, could the writer have had for taking his people down into Egypt, representing them as miserable slaves there, and bringing them out of Egypt into Canaan, unless he derived it from legendary recollections of some former residence of the Hebrews in Egypt under painful circumstances, and of some great deliverance?

495. If, then, some centuries, it may be, after such an event, a great mind, like that of Samuel, devoted itself to gathering up the legendary reminiscences of this great movement, which still survived among his people,—greatly modified, no doubt, exaggerated, and distorted, as they were passed on from age to age in the popular talk,—and if to these records of their national prime he endeavoured to give unity and substance, by connecting them into a continuous narrative, and fixing them down in written words for the use of his countrymen, is there anything immoral and dishonest in such an act, whether it be viewed from a merely *literary*, or a strictly *religious*, point of view,—provided only that we do not insist upon fastening upon the writer our own modern notions of what he actually did, and what he intended and really professed to do?

496. Prof. RAWLINSON indeed, says, *Aids to Faith*, p.242, that the Pentateuch, as a whole, virtually ‘*professes to be the work of Moses*,’ and, therefore, if it be not really his work, must be ‘a mere impudent fraud.’

‘The author does not formally announce himself, but, by the manner in which he writes, implies that he is Moses. This is so clear and palpable that even the antagonists of the genuineness are forced to allow it. They do not, indeed, admit the conclusion that what is thus claimed and proposed must be *true*; but, on the contrary, maintain that the actual writer lived many centuries after the great Legislator. Apparently, they do not see that, if their views are correct, the whole value of the work is lost,—that it becomes a *mere impudent fraud*, utterly unworthy of credit, which cannot reasonably be attached to any statement made by one, who would seek to palm on the world a gross and elaborate deception. If a work has merely gone accidentally by a wrong name, the discovery of its spuriousness need not seriously affect its authenticity. But, if the writer has set himself to personate another man, in order to obtain for his statements a weight and authority, to which they would not otherwise be entitled, the detection of the fraud carries with it the invalidation of the document, by wholly destroying our confidence in the integrity of the author. Modern Rationalism shrinks from these conclusions. It would degrade the Sacred Books; but it would not deprive them altogether of an historic character. It still speaks of them as sacred, and as entitled to our respect and reverence; while it saps the foundations on which their claim to our reverence rests, making them at best the ‘pious frauds’ of well intentioned, but unvaracious, religionists.’

497. If, however, our view be correct, as to the true origin of the first sketch of the story of the Exodus, we shall be very far indeed from characterising the act of SAMUEL, at all events, as an 'impudent fraud.' Rather, the person of the aged Seer will loom out from those ancient times with a grandeur and distinctness more remarkable than ever. Like our own king Alfred, he will have in that case to be regarded as the great regenerator of his people, a model himself of intellectual activity and vigour, of patriotic zeal and religious earnestness. Viewed in this light, this Elohist narrative of Samuel must be received with the respect and admiration of all ages, even if regarded only as a mere work of genius. Still more will it demand our veneration, as containing the records of true religion in its earliest developements, and as having ministered so largely, in God's Providence, to the religious education of mankind.

498. It is true that the Elohist has set the example of introducing in his narrative the Divine Being Himself, as conversing with their forefathers and imparting laws to Moses, — though not, indeed, the minute directions of the ceremonial laws in Leviticus and Numbers, for these, we shall find, are all due to later writers. But, in this respect, he has only acted in conformity with the spirit of his age, and of his people, which recognised, in their common forms of language, a direct Divine interference with the affairs of men. The case, indeed, would have been different, if the writer had stated that these Divine communications had been made to *himself*, that God had spoken to *him*, in his own person, instead of to Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, and had revealed laws to *him*, instead of to Moses. It would have been different also, if he had claimed, for all he wrote, *Divine infallibility*, if he had professed to have received these early records of the race by special inspiration, so that every part of the story which he recorded must be received with unquestioning faith as certainly true.

499. But there is not the slightest reason to suppose that the

first writer of the story in the Pentateuch ever professed to be recording *infallible truth*, or even *actual, historical, truth*. He wrote certainly a narrative. But what indications are there that he published it at large, even to the people of his own time, as a record of *matter-of-fact, veracious, history*? Why may not Samuel, like any other Head of an Institution, have composed this narrative for the instruction and improvement of his pupils, from which it would gradually find its way, no doubt, more or less freely, among the people at large, without ever pretending that it was any other than an historical *experiment*, an attempt to give them some account of the early annals of their tribes? In *later* days, it is true, this ancient work of Samuel's came to be regarded as infallibly Divine. But was it so regarded in the writer's days, or in the ages immediately following?

500. On the contrary, we find no sign of the Mosaic Law being venerated, obeyed, or even known, in many of its most remarkable features, till a much later time in the history. We shall enter into a full examination of this point hereafter, and show the very strong corroboration which our views derive from this consideration. For the present it may be sufficient to note that even the Ten Commandments, which one would have supposed would have been, as it were, household words in Israel, are never once quoted by any one of the Psalmists or Prophets. The Levites are only *once* mentioned in the Psalms, Ps.cxxxv.20, and once in (the later) Isaiah,lxvi.21, thrice in one chapter of Jeremiah,xxxiii.18,21,22, and in no other of the Prophets before the Captivity. Aaron is mentioned *once* only, by all the Prophets, Mic.vi.4; Moses is named *twice* only before the Captivity, Jer.xv.1, Mic.vi.4, and referred to, though not named, in Hos.xii.13.

501. The following are the remarks of EWALD on this point, though written from a somewhat different point of view from ours: *Geschichte des Volkes Israel*, ii.41.

‘It appears certainly, on closer enquiry, that Moses was seldom mentioned in the common life of the people, during the centuries next before and after David. The first prophetic passage, where Moses is—not indeed named, but—indicated as the ‘Prophet’ of ancient times, and associated with Jacob, is in Hosea xii.12,13,—‘And Jacob fled into the country of Syria, and Israel served for a wife, and for a wife he kept sheep. By a Prophet Jehovah brought Israel out of Egypt, and by a Prophet was he preserved.’ [Hosea flourished B.C.785, that is, 230 years after the time of the coronation of Solomon.] The first, in which he is named at the same time with Aaron and Miriam, is in Micah vi.4,—‘For I brought thee out of the land of Egypt, and redeemed thee out of the house of servants; and I sent before thee Moses, Aaron, and Miriam.’ [Micah flourished B.C.753.] But the remembrance of these three personages, as one sees by the case immediately following, where Balaam is mentioned in accordance with the present story in the book of Numbers, is only renewed, as it were, in learned fashion, *out of books*. That even in the consciousness of the whole people, in the seventh and sixth centuries before Christ, the old Chief rises again, as out of his grave, in greater glory than ever, his name being more frequently mentioned, and used at last as a watchword, is an immediate consequence of the progress of the *later representations* of him, and of the old histories renewed in a similar spirit.

‘Only, if any at the present day should conclude from this that Moses had never lived, or never done anything great, he would be both ignorant and unwise, and his conclusion would be—not bold only, but—rash and wrong. For if, as has already been said, the historical existence of Moses is indubitably proved (?) by other certain signs, nothing follows from the circumstance that he was not in the mouths of the people for a few centuries, [for six or seven centuries,] but that the people in general lived on then in a very simple way, troubling themselves very little about antiquity, enjoying the blessings of the community, of which the foundation was laid in earlier times, but almost unconsciously, and without enquiring into their origin. And, indeed, upon full consideration, these centuries cannot be regarded in any other aspect.’

‘These centuries’ include the very best times of Israel,—the time of David and the Tabernacle,—the time of Solomon and the Temple,—the time of highest progress in music, poetry, the arts of civilised life, and commercial intercourse with other nations.

502. But, if we will lay aside our own modern notions, of what Samuel *ought* to have been, and what he *ought* to have done, and merely regard him as a great statesman and law-giver, imbued from his childhood with deep religious feelings, and having early awakened in him—we cannot doubt, by

special Divine Inspiration—the strong conviction of the distinct Personal Presence of the Living God,—if we think of him as anxiously striving to convey the momentous truth, with which his own spirit was quickened, to the young men of his school, whom he had taken into closer intimacy with himself, and whom he hoped to influence for the permanent welfare of the whole community,—then the measures, which, it seems, he took for the purpose, will appear to be very natural, and quite undeserving to be styled an ‘impudent fraud.’

503. It is well known that the authors of most of the great early legislations of antiquity, as of those which are attributed to Minos, Lycurgus, and Numa, being actuated by the purest desire for the welfare of their countrymen, sought to attach authority to their lessons and laws, by representing them as revealed supernaturally, or, at least, as divinely approved. Of course, as we have said, the notion that SAMUEL also adopted this plan, of referring the institutions which he wished to enforce, to the direct revelation of the Divine Being,—though he did not profess to have received them himself, but represented them as made of old to the fathers or leaders of the Hebrew people, to Abraham or Moses,—is quite at variance with the ordinary notion of the Divine origin and infallible authority of this part of the Scriptures, and with the modern conceptions which are formed of the nature of inspiration and the proper aim and object of Scripture writers. But the results of our investigations compel us to the conclusion that either SAMUEL himself, or some other writer of that age, *did* adopt it.

504. In this, however, there is nothing inconsistent with the belief that SAMUEL was a true man, a true servant of the Living God, in whose Name he spoke, and of whom he witnessed. There is nothing to prevent our believing that he was ‘moved by the Holy Ghost,’ while he strove to teach his people, by the examples of their forefathers,—set before them in a life-like story,

full of moral and religious significance, though not historically true,—the duty of fearing God, and trusting in Him, and loving and serving Him. There is nothing to prevent our receiving the narrative as bringing to us lessons of like significance, as being ‘profitable for doctrine, reproof, correction, and instruction in righteousness,’—whether, with Abraham, we are called to go forth, at the voice of Truth which is God’s voice, into a strange land which we know not, but where He will assuredly meet with us and bless us, or to be ready to sacrifice, if need be, at the bidding of the same supreme authority, the dearest object of our hope, the most cherished tenet of our faith, ‘accounting that God is able to raise it up, even from the dead,’ to give us a brighter hope, and a surer ground of confidence in His Faithfulness and Love, than ever,—or whether, with Moses, we are to be taught to stand before the gulf of difficulty, when the path of duty lies plainly *forward*, but there seems no passage in front, no way of escape to the right or to the left, and then to be able to say, ‘Fear not, stand still, and ye shall see the salvation of God.’ These particular acts may never have occurred: but similar acts *have* occurred, and *are* occurring daily. And these stand forth in the Mosaic narrative, as, indeed, does the whole march through the wilderness, as records of the writer’s experience in the past, and types of the daily experience of mankind.

505. In short, the Elohist narrative may be regarded by us as a series of ‘parables,’—based, as we have said, on legendary facts, though not historically true,—but pregnant with holy instruction for all ages, according to the views of a devout religious man of those days. We might have wished, indeed, that it were possible to suppose that the account of the revelation of the Name Jehovah in E.iii,vi, was also based upon legendary matter of fact,—that there were any clear signs of the existence of the word among the Hebrew tribes in an earlier age than that of SAMUEL. But the truth compels

us to admit that there are no such indications. On the contrary, the evidence produced in this volume tends all in the opposite direction, to fix the introduction of the Name as having occurred in the age, and, therefore, we must suppose, by the act, of SAMUEL. It should be borne in mind, however, that *we* very probably import into that Name, JEHOVAH, in the present day, a fulness and depth of meaning, which the Seer himself did not ascribe to it. In his mind, it was only the expression of the idea of the Living God, the God of Israel, in opposition to the dead idols of the heathen. It would seem, however, from the evidence before us, that this Name was really formed by SAMUEL himself, or, if not actually formed, was first adopted and introduced by him. There is no sign, upon which any reliance can be placed, of its having been in use in an earlier age, and there is very strong evidence, as we have seen, to the contrary.

506. When SAMUEL had once set the example of this mode of composing the early history of the Hebrew people, it was, of course, most easy and natural for his disciples in a later age to follow him,—more especially if, as we may very well suppose, the unfinished manuscript was left in their hands by their dying master, with the permission, or even the injunction, to complete and perfect it to the best of their power. The establishment of the Divine Service at the Tabernacle in David's time, and at the Temple in Solomon's, would give occasion for additions to be made of a ceremonial and ritualistic character; and, perhaps, for a succession of years, such accretions might grow to the original document in the hands of the Priests. Yet is there no sign that the laws thus laid down were *published* for general information, and actually enforced by the best of kings, or voluntarily obeyed by those kings themselves or by the most devout of their people.* The Levitical laws seem rather to have served as a *directory* for the Priests in

the discharge of their duties in the Temple; and supplied information, we may suppose, for the instruction of pious worshippers, as in the command for a woman after childbirth to bring a lamb and a young *pigeon* or *turtledove*, L.xii.6, or in that for a *poor* man, after recovery from leprosy, to bring ‘two *turtle-doves* or two *young pigeons*,’ L.xiv.22,—a command which is expressly laid down, as for *the camp in the wilderness*, v.3,8, but which plainly betrays its character, as a law laid down in later days, by enjoining the performance of this act, which was impracticable in the wilderness.

507. In this form, the roll of the Mosaic story seems to have lain for nearly four centuries, kept, it may be, in the Temple archives, in the possession of the Priests, and referred to, perhaps, occasionally, when information was desired, or an addition was to be made to it. But we find no tokens in the writings of the Prophets of that age, of any such familiar acquaintance with the contents of this ancient document, as would imply that it was well known and devoutly studied, even by them,—much less by the people,—though, according to the laws of the Pentateuch, every king was to copy it with his own hand, D.xvii.18, and it was to be read publicly every seven years to the whole assembled people at the Feast of Tabernacles, D.xxxi.10–13. As we have said, we shall examine thoroughly into this point hereafter. For the present, it is sufficient to call the reader’s attention to the occurrence in Josiah’s days, which is related in 2K.xxii, when the pious king himself, as well as the people, was taken wholly by surprise by the discovery of the ‘Book of the Law’ in the Temple, and evidently was in complete ignorance of the nature of its contents, before he heard them.

508. But, some one, perhaps, may now say, ‘Do you then take from us God’s Word, the Bible?’ I must reply again, ‘Whatever is done, it is not *I*, but the TRUTH itself, which does

it.' If the arguments, which I have advanced, are not really founded upon Truth, let them be set aside and thrown to the winds; but, if they are, we dare not, as servants of God, do this—we are bound to hear and to obey the Truth. It may be then—rather, it is, as I believe, undoubtedly—the fact, that God Himself, by the power of the Truth, will take from us in this age the Bible as an *idol*, which we have set up against His Will, to bow down to it and worship it. But, while He takes it away thus with the one hand, does He not also restore it to us with the other,—not to be put into the place of God, and served with idolatrous worship,—but to be revered as a Book, the best of books, the work of living men like ourselves,—of men, I mean, in whose hearts the same human thoughts were stirring, the same hopes and fears were dwelling, the same gracious Spirit was operating, three thousand years ago, as now?

509. Is it nothing to know and feel this, that in those remote ages our fellow-men breathed the same spiritual breath as we do now, lived the same spiritual life, and dreaded, as the consequence and judgment of sin, the same spiritual death? Is it nothing to know that whether Adam sinned or not, by eating the forbidden fruit in Paradise, whether Noah and his family were saved in the Ark or not, whether the cities of the plain were destroyed for their sins or not, yet *in the minds of our fellow-men*, whoever wrote those stories of old, there was as deep and true a conviction of the evil of sin, and its bitter, terrible, consequences, as we have now?

510. And on the other hand, is there no solid comfort in knowing that, to the minds of pious men in those days, as well as now, it was revealed that the heaven and the earth were the work of the great Creator, that the blessed light came forth by the Word of God, and man himself was made in his Maker's image? Do we not feel the bonds of our common humanity drawn yet more closely around us, when we see that in those

days, as now, the Presence of God Himself was realised as near to every faithful soul, ready to strengthen, comfort, bless, or, if need be, to chasten,—nay, that to their eyes, as to ours, the gracious signs of nature were whispering of a bond between earth and heaven, and the bright beauty of the rainbow after the storm,—the simple fact that, notwithstanding all our sins, God still gives us power to see and enjoy His Goodness,—was regarded as a pledge of the continuance of His loving care for His creatures, an assurance of forgiveness and peace?

511. In this way, I repeat, the Bible becomes to us a human book, in which the thoughts of other hearts are opened to us; of men who lived in the ages long ago, and in circumstances so different from ours. And, for those who devoutly study it in this spirit, there will be ever-increasing joy and consolation, in beholding how the face of man answereth to face, under the teaching of the self-same Spirit, how the heart of the human race is really one in its religious consciousness,—in its ‘feeling after God,’—in its deep desires, which nothing of this world can satisfy,—in its sense of sin, which can only be relieved by confession and repentance,—in its assurance of fatherly, forgiving mercy, when sin is confessed and forsaken,—‘When I kept silence, my bones waxed old, through my roaring all the day long; I acknowledged my sin unto Thee, and mine iniquity have I not hid. I said, I will confess my transgressions unto the LORD; and Thou forgavest the iniquity of my sin.’ Ps.xxxii.3,5.

512. Is, then, the Bible to be read like any other common book? In one sense, yes. It is to be read, like any other book, with the ‘understanding’ as well as with the ‘heart.’ We must not blindly shut our eyes to the real history of the composition of this book, to the legendary character of its earlier portions, to the manifest contradictions and impossibilities, which rise up at once, in every part of the story of the Exodus, if we persist in maintaining that it is a simple record

of historical facts. We must regard it, then, as the work of men, of fellow-men, like ourselves, fighting the same good fight, on the side of God and His Truth, against all manner of falsehood and evil, though fighting in their own primitive way, and without the light of that Christian teaching, which shines upon our warfare of to-day, and makes many things plain and clear to our eyes, which to them were still dark and uncertain.

513. But then, on the other hand, we must study the Bible with the *heart*, as well as with the *mind*. The Bible is not itself 'God's Word,' but assuredly, 'God's Word' will be heard in the Bible, by all who will humbly and devoutly listen for it. Undoubtedly it is a fact, which can never be lost sight of by thoughtful men, that the Jewish nation has been singled out, by the express Will of God, from all other nations for this great end, to be the instrument by which His more clear and full revelations of Himself should be in the earliest days conveyed to mankind, and thus to be the special messenger of His Grace and Goodness to all the ends of the earth. As the Greeks have been endowed by the 'Father of Lights' with those special gifts in art and science and literature, which have made the works of their great masters in all ages the models for the imitation of mankind,—as the Roman has been distinguished in matters of law and government, and other nations have had their own peculiar endowments, for the common welfare of the race,—so, too, has the Hebrew mind had its own special gift from God.

514. For, while showing itself singularly defective in ancient days, (though with many grand exceptions in later times,) with respect to all matters of science, art, literature, and general politics, yet has the Hebrew race been quickened from the first, more than all others, with higher spiritual life, and endued with special gifts for the purpose of propagating that life to others. Throughout the Scriptures is this wonderful power exhibited, by which, with a few simple words, the springs of life within our own hearts are touched, and the whole inner man is stirred, and

we ‘taste the good Word of God, and the powers of the world to come.’ The mighty voice of some great Prophet is still heard delivering its burden of righteous judgment and woe, against the national sins of modern times, as well as those of the days of old,—‘Shall I not visit for these things, saith the LORD? Shall not my soul be avenged on such a nation as this?’ The plaintive cries of some unknown Psalmist, his meek resignation, his patient hope,—or, it may be, his song of praise and thanksgiving,—still find their echoes in all true hearts, and are breathed afresh, day by day, from a thousand lips, as the most natural utterances of human beings, ‘in all times of their wealth, in all times of their tribulation.’

515. And so it will be, doubtless, to the end of time. The Hebrew Scriptures are a gracious gift of God, which He in His Providence has ‘caused to be written for our learning’ in Divine things. And the Hebrew race, it may be—with all their noble qualities, their patient endurance under injuries, too often practised upon them by Christian men in the Name of God, their calm, unshaken, trust in God’s faithfulness, their steadfast continuance in well-doing, according to that Law which they believe to be Divine,—may have yet a great part to act, and a great work to do, in the regeneration of mankind. It may be that they, too, shall shake off the superstitious belief of ages, and, reverencing their Scriptures for the living truths which they declared to their forefathers, while other nations lay yet wrapt in the darkness of heathenism, shall yield to the demands of modern science, and give up the story of the Pentateuch as a record of historical fact. Then, also, may Missionaries of their race go forth, as well as ours, far and wide, as heralds of salvation, proclaiming with free utterance the Name of the Living God, whom their fathers knew and worshipped, telling the nations of His Grace, His Truth, His Righteousness.

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INDEX.

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<i>Acton's Cookery-Book</i>	200	<i>Calvert's Wife's Manual</i>	168
<i>Afternoon of Life</i>	139	<i>Cats' and Fairies' Emblems</i>	159
<i>Agassiz on Classification</i>	102	<i>Chorale-Book (The) for England</i>	164
<i>Alcock's Japan</i>	1	<i>Clark's Comparative Grammar</i>	60
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<i>Arago's Treatise on Comets</i>	34	<i>Comyn Ellice, a Tale</i>	137
<i>Arbuthnot's Herzegovina</i>	74	<i>Cunnington's Chemical Analysis</i>	99
<i>Arnold's Manual of English Literature</i>	63	<i>Contanseau's French Dictionaries</i>	58
<i>Arnold's Poems</i>	181	<i>Conybeare and Howson's St. Paul</i>	49
<i>Arnold's Merope</i>	181	<i>Copland's Dictionary of Medicine</i>	93
<i>Arnold on Translating Homer</i>	64	<i>Cotton's Instructions in Christianity</i>	171
<i>Arnott on Progress</i>	184	<i>Cox's Tales from Greek Mythology</i>	40
<i>Autobiography of Charles V.</i>	9	<i>Cox's Tale of the Great Persian War</i>	40
<i>Ayre's Treasury of Bible Knowledge</i>	172	<i>Cox's Tales of the Gods and Heroes</i>	40
<i>Bacon's Life, by Spedding</i>	23	<i>Cresy's Encyclop. of Civil Engineering</i>	192
<i>Bacon's Works</i>	22	<i>Cricket Field (The)</i>	135
<i>Baylison's Rents and Tillages</i>	217	<i>Cricket Tutor (The)</i>	135
<i>Beard's Port-Royal</i>	51	<i>Crowe's History of France</i>	14
<i>Betlepsch's Alps</i>	70	<i>D'Aubigné's Calvin</i>	3
<i>Black on Brewing</i>	201	<i>Dead Shot (The)</i>	125
<i>Blaine's Encyclopædia of Rural Sports</i>	123	<i>De la Rive's Reminiscences of Cavour</i>	6
<i>Blight's Land's End</i>	86	<i>De la Rive's Electricity</i>	101
<i>Boner's Forest Creatures</i>	117	<i>De Tocqueville on Democracy</i>	8
<i>Burne on the Steam Engine</i>	214	<i>De Witt's Jefferson</i>	7
<i>Bourne's Catechism of ditto</i>	214	<i>Döllinger's Gentile and Jew</i>	50
<i>Bowdler's Family Shakspeare</i>	173	<i>Dove's Law of Storms</i>	112
<i>Boyd's Naval Cadet's Manual</i>	212	<i>Eastlake on Oil Painting</i>	29
<i>Brande's Dictionary of Science</i>	103	<i>Eclipse of Faith (The)</i>	148
<i>Bréhaut on Cordon-Training</i>	224	<i>Defence of ditto</i>	148
<i>Brodie's Psychological Inquiries</i>	89	<i>Essays and Reviews</i>	149
<i>Brinton on Food</i>	203	<i>Fairbairn's Information for Engineers</i>	194
<i>Bristow's Glossary of Mineralogy</i>	107	<i>Fairbairn's Treatise on Millwork</i>	194
<i>Bromfield's Brittany and the Bible</i>	84	<i>Fitzroy's Weather Book</i>	113
<i>Brunei's Life, by Beamish</i>	24	<i>Folkard's Sailing Boat</i>	132
<i>Bull's Hints to Mothers</i>	203	<i>Forster's Life of Eliot</i>	2
<i>Bull on Management of Children</i>	203	<i>Fowler's Collieries</i>	209
<i>Bunsen's Hippolytus</i>	62	<i>Freshfield's Alpine Byways</i>	68
<i>Bunsen's Outlines of Universal History</i>	52	<i>Freshfield's Tour in the Grisons</i>	68
<i>Bunsen's Analecta Ante-Nicæna</i>	52	<i>Garratt's Marvels of Instinct</i>	119
<i>Bunsen's Ancient Egypt</i>	52	<i>Goldsmith's Poems, illustrated</i>	174
<i>Bunyan's Pilgrim's Progress, illustrated</i>	160	<i>Goodeve's Elements of Mechanism</i>	197
<i>Burke's Vicissitudes of Families</i>	38	<i>Green's English Princesses</i>	21
<i>Burn's Agricultural Tour in Belgium</i>	85	<i>Greene's Manual of Cœlenterata</i>	115
<i>Burton's Lake Regions of Central Africa</i>	82	<i>Greene's Manual of Protozoa</i>	115
<i>Burton's Footsteps in East Africa</i>	82	<i>Greyson's Correspondence</i>	148
<i>Burton's Medina and Mecca</i>	82	<i>Grove on Physical Forces</i>	104
<i>Burton's City of the Saints</i>	82	<i>Guill's Encyclopædia of Architecture</i>	195
<i>Cabinet Lawyer (The)</i>	219		
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<i>Hassall's Adulterations Detected</i>	223	<i>Macaulay's Speeches</i>	45
<i>Havlock's Life, by Marshman</i>	36	<i>MacBrair's Africans</i>	83
<i>Hawker on Guns and Shooting</i>	124	<i>MacDougall's Theory of War</i>	210
<i>Herschel's Outlines of Astronomy</i>	109	<i>M'Culloch's Commercial Dictionary</i>	188
<i>Herschel's Essays</i>	109	<i>M'Culloch's Geographical Dictionary</i>	188
<i>Hind's American Exploring Expeditions</i> ..	77	<i>Marcel's Land and Water</i>	216
<i>Hind's Labrador</i>	77	<i>Marcel's Political Economy</i>	216
<i>Hints on Etiquette</i>	129	<i>Marcel's Conversat. on Natural Philosophy</i> ..	216
<i>Hole's Gardeners' Annual</i>	227	<i>Marcel's Conversations on Chemistry</i>	216
<i>Holland's Essays</i>	88	<i>Maudr's Biographical Treasury</i>	228
<i>Holland's Medical Notes</i>	88	<i>Maudr's Geographical Treasury</i>	228
<i>Holland on Mental Physiology</i>	88	<i>Maudr's Historical Treasury</i>	228
<i>Hooker's British Flora</i>	221	<i>Maudr's Natural History</i>	228
<i>Hopkins's Hawaii</i>	78	<i>Maudr's Scientific and Literary Treasury</i> ..	228
<i>Horne's Introduction to the Scriptures</i>	169	<i>Maudr's Treasury of Knowledge</i>	228
<i>Horne's Compendium of ditto</i>	170	<i>May's England</i>	11
<i>Hoskyns's Talpa</i>	131	<i>Memoir of Sydney Smith</i>	43
<i>Howard's Athletic Exercises</i>	133	<i>Memoirs, &c. of Thomas Moore</i>	44
<i>Howitt's History of the Supernatural</i>	151	<i>Mendelssohn's Letters</i>	72
<i>Howitt's Remarkable Places</i>	87	<i>Merivale's Romans under the Empire</i>	15
<i>Howitt's Rural Life of England</i>	87	<i>Merivale's Fall of the Roman Republic</i> ...	15
<i>Howson's Deaconesses</i>	143	<i>Merivale's (H.) Lectures on Colonisation</i> ..	185
<i>Hudson's Directions for Making Wills</i>	220	<i>Meryon's History of Medicine</i>	28
<i>Hudson's Executor's Guide</i>	220	<i>Miles on Horse's Foot</i>	128
<i>Hughes's Geography of History</i>	189	<i>Miles on Shoeing Horses</i>	128
<i>Hughes's Manual of Geography</i>	189	<i>Moore's Lalla Rookh</i>	175, 176
		<i>Moore's Irish Melodies</i>	177
<i>Jameson's Saints and Martyrs</i>	158	<i>Moore's Poetical Works</i>	178
<i>Jameson's Monastic Orders</i>	158	<i>Morell's Mental Philosophy</i>	90
<i>Jameson's Legends of the Madonna</i>	158	<i>Morell's Elements of Psychology</i>	90
<i>Jameson's Legends of the Saviour</i>	158	<i>Morning Clouds</i>	139
<i>Johnson's Dictionary, by Latham</i>	56	<i>Morton's Royal Farms</i>	12
<i>Johnson's Patentee's Manual</i>	205	<i>Morton's Dairy Husbandry</i>	215
<i>Johnson's Book of Industrial Designs</i>	206	<i>Morton's Farm Labour</i>	215
<i>Johnston's Geographical Dictionary</i>	191	<i>Mosheim's Ecclesiastical History</i>	155
		<i>Müller's Lectures on Language</i>	59
<i>Kennedy's Hymnologia</i>	165	<i>Munk's College of Physicians</i>	27
<i>Kirby and Spence's Entomology</i>	120	<i>Mure's Language and Literature of Greece</i> ..	16
		<i>My Life, and What shall I do with it?</i> ...	143
<i>L. E. L.'s Poetical Works</i>	179		
<i>Lady's Tour round Monte Rosa</i>	69	<i>Neale's Sunsets and Sunshine</i>	141
<i>Latham's Comparative Philology</i>	62		
<i>Latham's English Language</i>	62	<i>Odling's Chemistry</i>	97
<i>Latham's Handbook of ditto</i>	62		
<i>Lempriere's Notes on Mexico</i>	76	<i>Packe's Guide to the Pyrenees</i>	73
<i>Liddell and Scott's Greek Lexicons</i>	54	<i>Parry's Memoirs</i>	37
<i>Lindley's Horticulture</i>	225	<i>Peaks, Passes, and Glaciers</i>	66
<i>Lindley's Introduction to Botany</i>	225	<i>Pereira's Materia Medica</i>	108
<i>Lindley's Treasury of Botany</i>	228	<i>Peschel's Elements of Physics</i>	105
<i>Lister's Physico-Prophetical Essays</i>	153	<i>Phillips's Guide to Geology</i>	111
<i>Lewin's Jerusalem</i>	65	<i>Phillips's Introduction to Mineralogy</i>	106
<i>Loudon's Encyclo. of Cottage Architecture</i> ..	196	<i>Piesse's Art of Perfumery</i>	134
<i>Loudon's Encyclo. of Agriculture</i>	218	<i>Piesse's Chemical Wonders</i>	134
<i>Loudon's Encyclo. of Gardening</i>	218	<i>Piesse's Chemical and Natural Magic</i>	134
<i>Loudon's Encyclo. of Trees and Shrubs</i> ..	218	<i>Pietrowski's Siberian Exile</i>	5
<i>Loudon's Encyclo. of Plants</i>	218	<i>Porson's Life, by Watson</i>	33
<i>Lowndes's Engineer's Handbook</i>	193	<i>Practical Mechanic's Journal</i>	207
<i>Lyra Domestica</i>	167	<i>Problems in Human Nature</i>	139
<i>Lyra Germanica</i>	162, 163	<i>Pycroft's English Reading</i>	156
<i>Lyra Sacra</i>	166		
		<i>Ranken's Canada and the Crimea</i>	75
<i>Macaulay's England</i>	13	<i>Record of International Exhibition</i>	208

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Roman and Greek Antiquities.....	41	<i>Taylor's (Jeremy) Works</i>	154
Rose Amateur's Guide.....	226	<i>Tennent's Ceylon</i>	118
<i>Rogers's Essays</i>	148	<i>Tennent's Natural History of Ceylon</i>	118
<i>Rogel's English Thesaurus</i>	57	<i>Theologia Germanica</i>	161
<i>Romance of a Dull Life</i>	139	<i>Thirlwall's Greece</i>	17
<i>Ronald's Fly-Fisher</i>	126	<i>Thomson's Interest Tables</i>	187
<i>Rowton's Debater</i>	61	<i>Thomson's Laws of Thought</i>	91
<i>Sandby's Royal Academy</i>	30	<i>Thrupp's Anglo-Saxon Home</i>	19
<i>Sandford's Bampton Lectures</i>	152	<i>Todd's Cyclopædia of Anat. and Physiology</i>	92
<i>Savile on Revelation and Science</i>	150	<i>Trollope's Warden</i>	136
<i>Sarby on Projection of Sphere</i>	213	<i>Trollope's Barchester Towers</i>	136
<i>Sarby on Study of Steam</i>	213	<i>Twiss's Law of Nations</i>	10
<i>Scoffern on Projectiles</i>	211	<i>Tyndall on Heat</i>	94
<i>Scott's Lectures on the Fine Arts</i>	31	<i>Tyndall's Mountaineering</i>	67
<i>Scott's Volumetrical Analysis</i>	100	<i>Ure's Dictionary of Arts, Manufactures,</i> <i>and Mines</i>	198
<i>Scrope on Volcanoes</i>	96	<i>Villari's History of Savonarola</i>	32
<i>Sewell's Ancient History</i>	42		
<i>Sewell's Early Church</i>	42		
<i>Sewell's Passing Thoughts on Religion</i> ...	157		
<i>Sewell's Self-Examination for Confirmation</i>	157		
	157		
<i>Stories and Tales</i>	140	<i>Woolf's Celestial</i>	
<i>Sharp's British Gazetteer</i>	190	<i>Webster and Parkes's Domestic Economy</i> ..	199
<i>Short Whist</i>	180	<i>Wellington's Life, by Gleig</i>	35
<i>Sidney's (Sir P.) Life, by Lloyd</i>	26	<i>Wesley's Life, by Southey</i>	46
	48	<i>West on Children's Diseases</i>	204
	47	<i>White and Riddle's Latin Dictionary</i>	53
<i>Social Life in Australia</i>	80	<i>— Bryologia Britannica</i>	222
<i>Southey's Poetical Works</i>	162	<i>Willrich's Popular Tables</i>	186
<i>Southey's Doctor</i>	162	<i>Wit and Wisdom of Sydney Smith</i>	147
<i>Stephen's Essays</i>	114	<i>Woodward's Chronological and Historical</i> <i>Encyclopædia</i>	18
<i>Stephen's Lectures on the History of France</i>	144	<i>Worms on the Earth's Motion</i>	93
<i>Stephenson's Life, by Jeaffreson and Pole</i> ..	25	<i>Wyndham's Norway</i>	79
'Stonehenge' on the Dog	122		
'Stonehenge' on the Greyhound	122		
<i>Strickland's Queens of England</i>	20	<i>Yonge's English-Greek Lexicon</i>	55
<i>Sydney Smith's Works</i>	147	<i>Youatt's work on the Horse</i>	121
<i>Sydney Smith's Moral Philosophy</i>	147	<i>Youatt's work on the Dog</i>	121

